

ACLU v. ACLU
Scott Sherman

THREE REVOLUTIONS
Eric Foner, Daniel Lazare, Ruth Scurr

The Nation.

World opinion is against
the US escalation in
Iraq. The American people are

against it. Congress is against it.
The Iraqi people are against it.
The Iraqi *government* is against it.
Can a single man force a nation
to fight a war it does not want to
fight, expand a war it does not
want to expand? If he can, is that
nation any longer a democracy
in any meaningful sense? If not,
how can democratic rule and the
republican form of government be

restored?

FEBRUARY 5,
2007

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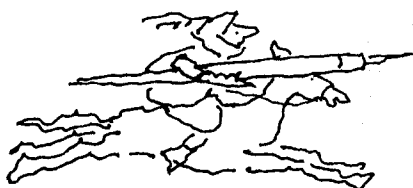
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LETTERS



R. O. BLECHMAN

9/11: THE JURY'S STILL OUT

"9/11: The Roots of Paranoia" by Christopher Hayes (Dec. 25) drew more mail than almost any Nation article in memory, except perhaps on the JFK assassination. Letters ran the gamut from the enraged (canceled subscriptions, charges of Nation stonewalling, anger at the use of the term "paranoia") to the complimentary ("My thanks to Mr. Hayes for trying to chart a middle road between credulity and paranoia"). But almost all agree that we don't know the whole story of what happened on September 11, 2001.

Laguna Hills, Calif.

■ Most 9/11 Truthers are like me: We don't know what the heck happened, but we know the government is hiding something from us. We know they lie, and if we were to ask *cui bono?* the answer is obvious. The bottom line is that we want a real study. We need proof from this government, for it stepped outside our circle of trust long ago.

ROBERT HULSY

Sarasota, Fla.

■ As articles debunking the various 9/11 truth movements go, Christopher Hayes's was refreshingly devoid of the snarky condescension that typifies such pieces. It nevertheless gravitated to the most extreme claims, such as those in the video *Loose Change*, while strategically ignoring the trenchant and as yet unanswered questions propounded by others whose credibility is not so easily impugned.

I invite *Nation* readers to view to the inquiries by the Family Steering Committee, formed by the "Jersey Girls," whose loved ones died that day and without whose heroic efforts there never would have been a 9/11 Commission. A compendium of Unanswered Questions appears on their website: www.911independent-commission.org. And for anyone who wonders just how dissatisfied, no, angry they have become about the whitewash that was performed by that commission, there is an excellent DVD about these remarkable women titled *9/11 Press for Truth*.

JOHN M. FEAGAN

Tucson

■ I am an airline pilot, retired after years of flying heavy jets on international routes. During my training I reviewed reports and photographs of thousands of aircraft accidents. I watched live news footage from the Pentagon on 9/11. I recognized immediately that what I saw could not possibly have been an aircraft crash scene.

Where did the energy of 200 tons of mass striking that building go? The roof fell downward when it should have been blown into the next state. It doesn't take a PhD to figure out what any high school physics student could.

Nor does it take an airline pilot like myself to notice the minimal damage, lack of aircraft parts, bodies, cargo, baggage, etc. that should be spread out in a 360-degree pattern.

Perhaps the most overlooked aspect of this scene is the U-shaped burn pattern, viewed from above, that extends through all five Pentagon segments and has two 90-degree turns. As a Vietnam Special Forces vet I'd suggest the possibility of faulty explosives that fizzled and burned rather than exploding.

DON CHILDS

Eugene, Ore.

■ On 9/11, I was a senior pilot for a major airline. Prior to that time, I spent six years as a captain on the B-767/757. I watched the second airplane hit the World Trade Center on television. All my instincts told me something was wrong with the official explanation. I still read everything I can find about the events of that day in an attempt to find some truth that satisfies my misgivings. I have found many authors who seem legitimate and who raise questions that need to be answered. Others are so outlandish as to appear to be spreading disinformation. Until there is a very open investigation with the world as its witness, nothing will be resolved. The implications of 9/11 are huge. As it is, our society may never recover from all the lies and disinformation and structural changes to our governance that have been made in its name.

RICK MARTIN

Putnam Valley, NY

■ Christopher Hayes's point that the antidote to the Truth Movement is "a press that refuses to allow the government to continue to lie" is valid. However the March 2005 *Popular Mechanics* article cited by Hayes to debunk the most prevalent conspiracy theories has itself been debunked. I refer readers to the following websites:

<http://911research.wtc7.net/essays/pm/>
www.serendipity.li/wot/pop_mech/reply_to_popular_mechanics.htm
www.911review.com/pm/markup/index.html

JUDY ALLEN

Ann Arbor, Mich.

■ As a boy growing up in New York City, I observed the Twin Towers being constructed from my perch on Staten Island. A bank of steel support columns in the center held it all up. The architects anticipated that aircraft could accidentally strike the buildings, so they built them to withstand a hit from a Boeing 707. I am incredulous that those buildings collapsed, and the explanations I have seen do not convince me, including those in *Popular Mechanics*. The fact is that no steel frame skyscrapers on fire have collapsed before or since the collapse of

the WTC buildings. Please join the demand for a real investigation into 9/11.

LUIS VAZQUEZ

Oregon, Wisc.

■ As the founder of Scholars for 9/11 Truth, I read "9/11: The Roots of Paranoia" with great interest. Its author cites a few of the questions that have troubled students of 9/11, but neglects most of the answers that we have established based upon objective, scientific investigation. In the name of fair play, here is a summary of our findings, substantiation for which may be found at our website, www.st911.org.

One preliminary point. If belief in conspiracies is enough to qualify one as "paranoid," then our highest government officials should be escorted to homes for the mentally bewildered, since they had been propounding a conspiracy theory even prior to investigation. Consider:

The impact of the planes cannot have caused enough damage to bring the buildings down, since the buildings were designed to withstand them (as Frank DeMartini, the project manager, observed), the planes that hit were similar to those they were designed to withstand, and the buildings continued to stand after those impacts with negligible effects.

The melting point of steel at 2,800 degrees F is about 1,000 degrees higher than the maximum burning temperature of jet-fuel-based fires, which do not exceed 1,800 degrees under optimal conditions, so the fires cannot have caused the steel to melt, which means that melting steel did not bring the buildings down.

UL certified the steel in the buildings up to 2,000 degrees F for three or four hours before it would significantly weaken, whereas these fires burned too low and too briefly at an average temperature of around 500 degrees—about one hour in the South Tower and one and a half in the North—to have even caused the steel to weaken, much less melt.

If the steel had melted or weakened, the affected floors would have displayed completely different behavior, with some asymmetrical sagging and tilting, which would have been gradual and slow, not the complete, abrupt and total demolition that was observed.

William Rodriguez, the senior custodian in the North Tower and the last man to leave the building, has reported massive explosions in the sub-basements that effected extensive destruction, including the demolition of a fifty-ton hydraulic press and the ripping of the skin off a fellow worker, a report corroborated by the testimony of many other custodians.

Rodriguez has reported that the explosion occurred prior to the airplane's impact, a claim that has now been substantiated in a new study

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EDITORIALS

For the Republic

World opinion is against it. The American people are against it. The Democratic Party is against it. The Congress of the United States is against it. The Iraq Study Group is against it. The Iraqi people are against it. The Iraqi *government* is against it. Many Republican lawmakers are against it. The top brass are against it. But George W. Bush is going to do it: send 21,500 more troops into Iraq. Can a single man force a nation to fight a war it does not want to fight, expand a war it does not want to expand—possibly to other countries? If he can, is that nation any longer a democracy in any meaningful sense? Is its government any longer a constitutional republic? If not, how can democratic rule and the republican form of government be restored? These are the unwelcome questions that President Bush's decision has forced on the country.

The troop increase itself is not likely to change much in Iraq. Troop strength fell to about 115,000 in early 2004. By late 2005 it had risen to 160,000, only to fall to 130,000 again in mid-2006. Neither the 2005 increase (much larger than the one now ordered by Bush) nor the 2006 ebb had any demonstrable effect on the course of the war. In any case, almost everyone declares by now that there is no military solution in Iraq, only a political one. But the hard truth is that there is probably no political solution, either. Certainly, it is beyond the power of the United States to achieve one. Only Iraqis have the capacity to solve their political problems, yet there is no sign that they are headed in this direction. On the contrary, they are sliding deeper into a sort of half-smothered, underground civil war of extraordinary brutality. The professed mission of the American troops is to stop this internal war. But how can that be done with an M-16? "Whom do you shoot at—the Sunni or the Shia?" Senator John Warner has appro-

priately asked. Perhaps both? In that case, which Iraqis are American troops fighting *for*?

The only thing new about the increase is its prime-time announcement by the President and its label, the "surge." But the Iraq War is not going to be won by a label—or by the very modest military step that it refers to, either. Indeed, the problem with American policy was never that it chose this or that bad strategy in Iraq but that it planted itself in Iraq at all. Once that was done, all strategies were bad, condemning the United States to stumble from error to error—doing more of the fighting, doing less; attacking Shiites, attacking Sunnis; helping Shiites, helping Sunnis; writing a Constitution, letting "the Iraqis" write a Constitution; disbanding the Baath Party, inviting back the Baathists; letting Kurds opt out of Iraq, dragging them into Iraq. Now, four years into the game, American policy has gone from mistaken to unintelligible—its actions not so much misguided as irrelevant to the ghastly conflict now under way. The killing is real, but Bush's war is a fantasy.

The President, then, has not bought victory, but he may have bought more time. But for what? One much-mentioned possibility is a wider war, perhaps against Iran. That possibility was explicit in his announcement that he will "interrupt the flow of support from Iran and Syria," "seek out and destroy the networks providing advanced weaponry and training to our enemies in Iraq" and also deploy Patriot missiles to Gulf allies. The very implausibility of the "surge" as a solution forces us all to ask now what will happen when it fails. When the President said his support of the Maliki government is not "open-ended," he fanned dovish hopes that his escalation was one last roll of the dice, after which he would order a withdrawal. However, nothing else he said supported that prospect. It was only from the *Maliki government*, not from the *American intervention* in Iraq, that Bush withdrew open-ended support. Regarding the war itself, he was still staying the course.

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"Failure in Iraq would be a disaster for the United States," he said. And, "for the safety of our people, America must succeed in Iraq." The new Defense Secretary, Robert Gates, said to the press, "At this pivotal moment, the credibility of the United States is on the line in Iraq." Nothing in these statements suggested a readiness to withdraw.

Unwanted war, the threat of a wider, even less wanted war, a constitutional crisis: The United States has experienced this combination before, and not so long ago. The war of course was Vietnam, ending in defeat in 1975, and the President was Richard Nixon, driven out of office under threat of certain impeachment the year before. Commentators of every stripe have been reaching back to this period for analogies. Is the present moment a repeat of 1968, when President Johnson, facing defeat in his renomination bid in the Democratic primaries, resigned from the campaign and opened peace negotiations; or of 1970, when Nixon widened the war by invading Cambodia and touched off an explosion of protest around the country that forced him to reverse course (and led Congress to prohibit funding for Cambodian operations); or of 1974 and 1975, when the Nixon Administration and the war ended (not accidentally) *seriatim*? Iraq is different from Vietnam and Bush is different from Nixon, yet the elements of the crisis are the same, as if we were still looking through the same kaleidoscope but after it had been given a shake. Again, we have the war launched on the basis of deceptions, again the duel between popular opinion and executive power, again executive secrecy, again the contempt for law, again the smearing of political opponents as abettors of the foe, again wiretapping, again defiance of Congress, again the imperial pretensions.

But more important than the similarities is the direct continuity between the two crises. The war in Iraq was framed as the culmination of a long campaign to overcome what the current President's father called the "Vietnam syndrome." The goal—probably the most important of the many aims of the whole enterprise—was to demonstrate that the United States had at last restored its ability, thrown into question by Vietnam, to determine the political future of nations (to accomplish regime change) through the use of military force. And this aim was in turn a pillar of the grandiose ambition, announced in White House documents, of achieving global dominance for the United States. Likewise, the most important theme of Bush's other usurpations—for example, of power to wiretap without a warrant, in contravention of statute, and to imprison and torture citizens as well as foreigners without due process—was to swell the power of the presidency at home. For in the minds of the Bush officials, Nixon's pre-impeachment presidency was not a cautionary tale but a model to be imitated, as Vice President Cheney, for one, has stated on many occasions. It is not only the Vietnam syndrome but the Watergate syndrome that they want to overcome. If the keynote of Nixon's character was covertness (not for nothing was he called Tricky Dick), then the keynote of Bush's character is brazenness: He seeks to carry out in broad daylight, as his formal right, the usurpations that Nixon committed under cover of night.

Thus, the deepest theme of the whole three-decade story, now

presented in almost outlandish caricature by the President's tug of war with the nation and the world over Iraq, is the issue of power and how it shall be constituted in the United States, and the deepest question the crisis presents is whether this country will continue to be a constitutional republic or bow down to the new system of one-man rule asserted by President Bush. It's an issue that must concern every citizen, and the antiwar movement is in fact reviving it. It is calling its renewed effort a "peace surge." Meanwhile, Congress faces concrete choices. For the time being it is picking its way through a minefield of remedies. Should it simply pass a resolution disapproving of the troop increase, as favored by Senator Carl Levin? Should it aim at a reauthorization for the war on the ground that its fundamental purposes defined in the original authorization have changed, as proposed by Senator Edward Kennedy? Should it condition new funding on policy requirements (no more escalation, no wider war), as proposed by Representative Jack Murtha? Should it provide funds only to protect and withdraw the troops, as proposed by Representative Jerrold Nadler? Should it simply set a date for withdrawal and look at cutting off funds after that date, as proposed by Senator Russell Feingold? Should it attempt to pull many of these elements together in a broad proposal, such as that being advanced by Progressive Caucus co-chairs Barbara Lee and Lynn Woolsey? Or will it be better to pursue the myriad investigations that may produce the evidence for impeachment?

The experience of the earlier round of the crisis in the Nixon years offers food for thought. That episode presents a paradox. Faced with the most dangerous President in American history so far, the public passed up the easy route for getting rid of him—voting him out of power in 1972—and instead chose the harder route of impeachment two years later. More paradoxical still, opposing the unpopular war had a political cost attached, whereas impeachment did not. The challenge to Nixon's misguided war policies in 1972 by Democratic candidate Senator George McGovern, leading to Nixon's landslide re-election that year, created a horror of opposing any President's war policies that has paralyzed the Democrats down to this day. But the more drastic remedy of impeachment produced no such backlash, leading in fact to huge Democratic gains in the Congressional races that fall and to Jimmy Carter's election as President in 1976. It is true that between the 1972 re-election and the 1974 impeachment, American combat operations in Vietnam had ended. Therefore, a vote for impeachment was no longer a vote against the war. The curse of looking "weak" on national security had been lifted. Still, it remains a noteworthy fact, on which today's Congress members may want to reflect, that the drastic remedy of impeachment was more acceptable to the public than the apparently less drastic one of defunding a rogue President's war. Should Congress, then, impeach President Bush while letting him fight his war? Decency and respect for human life forbid such a conclusion. What is quite permissible, however, is to recall that investigations that could lead to impeachment may, as one ingredient of Congress's activity, strengthen rather than weaken the efforts to end the war. Investigations, resolutions, legislation, not to mention citizen action, can all find their place as part of the common effort. For the Republic, for peace, let all these surge together.

Obama's Challenge

Barack Obama surprised even some seasoned political observers when he coupled the announcement that he had formed an exploratory 2008 presidential campaign committee with the news that he is all but certain to formally enter the race for the Democratic nomination on February 10. But there was nothing surprising about the message he presented. It was more of the same vaguely satisfying criticism of "the smallness of our politics" and the way government is "gummed up by money and influence," along with flowery promises to "tackle the big problems that demand solutions" and help us "come together around our common interests and concerns as Americans."

To his credit, Obama recognized in his announcement many of the challenges that face the United States: skyrocketing healthcare bills, lost pensions, the high price of a college education, the need to break our dependence on foreign oil and, above all, the fact that "we're still mired in a tragic and costly war that should have never been waged." But, as has been the case since speculation heated up about a run by the freshman senator from Illinois, Obama was long on personal appeal and short on policy specifics.

The seriousness with which he approaches the task of defining his politics between now and February 10 will go a long way toward deciding whether Obama wins his party's nomination. If he's going to secure the critical support of grassroots Democrats in key early caucus and primary states, these coming weeks must be less about celebrity and more about policy.

To be sure, Obama is a superstar, which allows him to leap over many of the hurdles erected by the overseers of the political process. Even before his keynote address at the 2004 Democratic National Convention, he was the most prominent state legislator in the nation. After his speech, favorably received by delegates and by most of the political and media class, he secured his Senate seat and arrived in Washington accompanied by some of the highest expectations ever attached to a new member of Congress.

Predictably, Obama failed to meet those inflated expectations. His relative caution on the big-picture issues of Iraq and domestic civil liberties, combined with some disappointing votes on consumer and economic issues, alienated many activists. As Obama made the rounds of state party conventions, fundraising events and rallies during the 2006 Congressional election season, however, grassroots Democrats remembered his inspired convention speech rather than his uninspired votes in Washington. And they gave the Senate's only black member a welcome that most politicians can only dream of. The message from the party faithful was clear: New York Senator Hillary Clinton, the presumed front-runner, had not closed the deal. There was an opening for another first-tier contender in the race, and Obama could take it.

Can Obama catch up with Clinton and former North Carolina Senator John Edwards, both of whom are far ahead in putting together the multistate campaign apparatus needed for a fast-paced presidential campaign? Yes, but only if the grassroots Democrats who have been so enthusiastic about the prospect of his candidacy now turn that enthusiasm into practical commitments in states like Iowa (where the first caucuses will be held a

year from now) Nevada, New Hampshire and South Carolina. That transition will have something to do with Obama's star power, of course, but it will have much more to do with the intensity and effectiveness of his calls for ending the war in Iraq, restoring civil liberties protections at home and undoing the Bush Administration's misguided economic policies.

As he attempts that task, there will be a good deal of media discussion about how Obama must compete with Clinton, but that's not the right test. If she runs, Clinton will do so as what she is: a cautious centrist with lots of money and prominent support but with dubious appeal to the activists who define the early stages of the nomination process. Obama's more serious challenge will be to make sure he compares favorably with Edwards. The 2004 Democratic nominee for Vice President has done a good job of identifying himself as the Democrat who wants to bring the troops home from Iraq—most recently in a speech at New York's Riverside Church, where he recalled the antiwar rhetoric of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and called for Congressional Democrats to refuse to fund the Iraq "surge." On the home front Edwards has advocated tax fairness, universal healthcare and living-wage protections. And he has spent a lot of time talking about those issues with activists with the power to make or break candidates. Edwards is attracting endorsements—particularly from labor union leaders and members—and the volunteer support that is required in high-maintenance states like Iowa and Nevada.

There's no question that Democrats like Barack Obama. But they don't necessarily know why. If Obama can fill in the blanks, he could trump Clinton and Edwards. If he can't, he'll likely join the long list of Presidents who might have been. JOHN NICHOLS

CALVIN TRILLIN

A QUESTION AND A FOLLOW-UP FOR GEORGE W. BUSH'S NEXT PRESS CONFERENCE

The Question

It's not, you say, an escalation.
No, you insist it's called a surge.
But sending troops is sending troops, sir.
So how, sir, do the two diverge?

The Follow-up, After the President Explains the Difference Between a Surge and an Escalation

Some soldiers in the surge you send there
To obfuscate your own mistake
Will surely die. So in their case, sir,
What difference does the difference make?

Scootergate: The Trial

When a Washington jury hears testimony in mid-January in the trial of I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, the narrow question at hand will be whether Vice President Dick Cheney's former chief of staff purposely lied to FBI agents and grand jurors investigating the leak that exposed Valerie (Plame) Wilson as a CIA officer. But the trial is about more than Libby's false statements. At issue is *why* he didn't tell the truth. And that leads to the number-one transgression of the Bush Administration: how it sold a war on phony pretexts. This trial, which comes when nearly three-quarters of the public don't approve of George Bush's war in Iraq, is a sharp reminder that the White House presented a spurious case for war and then desperately tried to preserve a PR campaign at odds with reality.

Recall that the Plame leak occurred because the White House, in mid-2003, was trying to discredit a critic who had challenged its argument for war when its main justification for it—that Iraq had chemical and biological weapons and was developing a nuclear bomb—was being undermined by facts on the ground. Shortly after the invasion, former Ambassador Joseph Wilson began privately telling reporters that Bush's prewar charge that Saddam Hussein had been seeking uranium in Africa was wrong. In 2002 the CIA had sent Wilson to Niger to check out this claim (based on poorly forged documents), and he had concluded that it was highly unlikely. When reporters started writing about Wilson's mission without naming him, Libby and Cheney gathered information on him. They learned that his wife was an officer at the CIA division that had dispatched Wilson to Niger.

As news stories appeared with intelligence-community leaks suggesting that the White House had manipulated the prewar intelligence, Cheney, Libby and other Bush aides felt threatened. In an off-the-record conversation with *New York Times* reporter Judith Miller, Libby dismissed Wilson's trip to Niger and mentioned that Wilson's wife worked at the CIA (her employment at the agency was classified information). When Wilson publicly charged that the White House had "twisted" intelligence "to exaggerate the Iraqi threat," the White House went into negative-campaign mode, hoping to undercut the first public critic who had inside information. Libby and Bush strategist Karl Rove told reporters about Wilson's wife, as if his trip to Niger had merely been a nepotistic junket. Evidence developed by special prosecutor Patrick Fitzgerald indicates that Cheney was directly involved in the anti-Wilson activity.

During this frenzied period Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, who had learned about Wilson's wife through a memo on Wilson his department had written for Libby, told right-wing columnist Robert Novak about her. After Rove confirmed her CIA employment for Novak (and after Libby had shared the same information with a *Time* reporter), Novak published the piece that outed Valerie Wilson. This prompted a question (first asked by me on the *Nation* website): Had Bush aides violated the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, which prohibits federal officials from revealing information identifying an undercover intelligence officer?

COMMENT

Once the leak became a possible criminal matter, Libby had two strong motives for not telling the truth: to avoid prosecution under this law and to hide Cheney's participation in an underhanded (if not illegal) campaign to damage a policy foe. In interviews with the FBI and appearances before a grand jury, Libby claimed that he had learned about Wilson's wife only from talking to reporters, that he had simply passed along this scuttlebutt to other journalists and that he forgot he had received classified information about Wilson's wife from Cheney and others in the government.

It was a thin tale. Now Libby's lawyers contend he was so busy with important matters of state (such as helping run the Iraq War) that he innocently confused his recollections. And Libby's defense team has signaled that it may call Cheney as a witness to bolster this claim. This would afford Fitzgerald the chance to question Cheney about his involvement in the anti-Wilson campaign.

Not far into his investigation, Fitzgerald concluded that he couldn't bring a case under the poorly written Intelligence Identities Protection Act. But he spent two years investigating Rove and Libby for not coming clean about their actions (Rove barely escaped prosecution). This cover-up was important for the White House, which falsely insisted that Rove and Libby were not involved in the leak. The stonewalling protected those who had been trying to maintain the cover story for the war.

That cover story has long since been ripped apart. But Bush and Cheney have not yet been held accountable for peddling untruths to lead the nation to war. As Fitzgerald has said, the war is not on trial. But the integrity of the White House is. Libby will be judged on his own actions, but he's a stand-in for the culprits higher up, whose war-building misrepresentations were beyond the reach of a federal prosecutor.

DAVID CORN

EPI's Agenda for Change

For many years, the Economic Policy Institute has filled a lonely role in Washington politics—the premier left-liberal think tank standing up to the dominant conservative orthodoxy. EPI seldom prevailed in major policy debates, but it won high regard, even among conservative rivals, for its meticulous research and powerful analysis of the economic realities. Now the institute has turned an important corner and is embracing optimism. It is proposing a comprehensive alternative vision—an Agenda for Shared Prosperity—to stimulate and guide the progressive counterreformation.

"Americans are impatient with politics as usual," EPI explains. "They are prepared to consider big and bold ideas for America's future." These include dozens of policy proposals for confronting the many social and economic wounds generated by twenty-five years of conservative governance. The agenda, to be rolled out in a series of policy papers (available at www.sharedprosperity.org), includes a concrete strategy for reversing globalization's destructive impact on equity and general prosperity in American economic life; a novel proposal to create a new national pension alongside Social Security, one that will insure secure, ample retirement incomes for all; and an employer-based system to provide

universal health coverage. Many other reform ideas envision everything from a "family-centered labor market" to rebuilding the country's decayed infrastructure to reviving government-backed industrial development.

The healthcare plan in EPI's package is a proposal devised by Jacob Hacker of Yale that essentially provides Medicare for all—a concept that already has influential endorsements from Senator Edward Kennedy and Representative Pete Stark, who chairs the House Ways and Means subcommittee that will handle the legislation. This would be a big step toward single-payer, but it doesn't go all the way.

The EPI agenda was generated by fifty or so economists, political activists and other policy thinkers who collaborated in a series of sessions through most of 2006. There's a lot to discuss and disagree about in the various ideas. Do they go too far? Or not far enough? In a way, that's EPI's point. Given emerging political realities, now is the time to jump-start serious debate among progressives and put real flesh on a political agenda that seeks deep reform instead of palliatives.

In other words, EPI is rejecting the mentality that has blanketed the left for most of the last generation—"nothing can be done" given Republican dominance, don't make things harder for Democrats by promoting big liberal ideas that speak to the scale of the problems. EPI is declaring an end to the retreat and silence. The Democratic Party is not there yet—not even close—but this new agenda should help push Democrats out of their center-right timidity. The 2006 election returns definitely changed the political calculation for them.

In particular, the EPI analysis provides a coherent counterforce to Rubinomics and the conservative, markets-first ideology by which Democrats governed under Bill Clinton. Former Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin is pushing an updated version of his agenda through the Hamilton Project, which he and other investment bankers created at the Brookings Institution. Rubin now admits that the laissez-faire economy no longer benefits most Americans, yet he still doesn't want to change it in any real way.

EPI's catalogue of policy proposals confronts politicians with a different choice: Do you want to get serious about solving these deep injuries to society generated by right-wing governance? Or do you merely want to make sympathetic noises? This is a good debate for Democrats—and the country—to have. People haven't heard an alternative vision articulated confidently for many, many years. A lot of Americans, especially younger people, may be surprised to learn that an optimistic agenda exists.

WILLIAM GREIDER

ON THE WEB: Ari Melber reports on how "blink tanks"—blogs of progressive policy wonks—are pressuring Democratic political strategists to restore rights lost when Congress approved the 2006 Military Commissions Act, which dilutes restrictions against torture and eliminates habeas corpus. In a VideoNation report, Katrina vanden Heuvel argues against the President's escalation plan in Iraq. Indrani Sen writes that with a postponed election and imposition of martial law, Bangladesh could be Islamic extremists' next target.

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Get Carter! Iran, Too!

Suppose the movers and shakers in the Israel lobby here—Abe Foxman, Alan Dershowitz and the rest of the crew—had simply decided to leave Jimmy Carter's *Palestine Peace Not Apartheid* alone. How long before the book would have been gathering dust on the remainder shelves? Suppose even that Dershowitz had rounded up his unacknowledged co-authors in all their tens of thousands and sallied forth to buy up every copy of Carter's book and toss each one into the Charles River. Would that have not been a more successful suppressor than the blitzkrieg strategy they did adopt?

Of course it would. For weeks now the lobby has hurled its legions into battle against Carter. He has been stigmatized as an anti-Semite, a Holocaust denier, a patron of former concentration camp killers, a Christian madman, a pawn of the Arabs who "flatly condones mass murder" of Israeli Jews. This last was from Murdoch's *New York Post* editorial, relayed to its mailing list by the Zionist Organization of America.

Any day now I expect some janitors at the Carter Center to resign, declaring that they can no longer in all conscience mop bathrooms that might have been used by the former President, their letter of protest duly front-paged by the *New York Times*, just like the famous fourteen members of the Carter Center's Board of Councilors. Actually there were 224 people on this board, where membership is mostly a thank-you for a financial donation to the center. So the headlines could be saying, MORE THAN 90 PERCENT OF CARTER CENTER BOARD MEMBERS BACK FORMER PRESIDENT.

But the assault on Carter is all to no avail. With each gust of abuse, Carter's book soars higher and higher on the bestseller lists, reaching number four on Amazon itself. This doesn't prove the lobby has no power. It proves the lobby can be dumb. Adroit lobbying consists in preventing unpleasing material from reaching the light of day. Lobbying thrives in furtive darkness: slipping language into a bill at the last moment, threatening to back a campaign opponent, making quiet phone calls to the Polish Embassy. Pressure is now being exerted on Farrar, Straus & Giroux to abandon its impending publication of Mearsheimer and Walt's attack on the lobby.

The Israel lobby retains its grip inside the Beltway, but it's starting to lose its hold on the broader public debate. Why? You can't brutalize the Palestinian people in the full light of day, decade after decade, without claims that Israel is a beacon among the nations getting more than a few serious dents. In the old days, Mearsheimer and Walt's tract would have been deep-sixed by the University of Chicago and the Kennedy School long before it reached its final draft, and Farrar, Straus & Giroux wouldn't have considered offering a six-figure advance for it. Simon & Schuster would have told President Carter that his manuscript had run into insurmountable objections from a distinguished board of internal reviewers. But once a book by a former President with weighty humanitarian credentials makes

it into bookstores, it's hard to shoot it down with volleys of wild abuse.

The trouble with the lobby and the Christian zealots who act as its echo chamber is that they believe their own propaganda about Israel's equitable social arrangements and immaculate political and legal record in its relations with the Palestinians. Use the word *apartheid* and they howl with indignation. The shock is about thirty years out of date. Israeli writers have used *apartheid* to describe arrangements in the occupied territories for years.

Hundreds of prominent South African Jews issued a statement six years ago making the same link.

As in so many things, conventional elite opinion lives in a bubble, believing that mere assertion and ranting about anti-Semitism will carry the day. The *New York Times* featured a spectacularly disingenuous hatchet job by its deputy foreign editor, Ethan Bronner, and another assault by former Clinton-era Middle East negotiator Dennis Ross. The latter rolled out the ritual accusations about Arafat's rejection of Clinton's proposals in December 2000, which is nonsense, as Ross surely knows. Clinton himself acknowledged in 2001 what later historians have substantiated: that both sides accepted his proposals in principle, while filing reservations. (Israel's amounted to twenty single-spaced pages.)

The *Times* attacks were matched in the *Washington Post* by Jeffrey Goldberg, formerly of the IDF and a notorious trafficker in fictions, such as the supposed terror ties between Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein. Amazon ran his vulgar ravings under the "Editorial Reviews" heading—a space usually reserved for short blurbs from *Publishers Weekly* and the like.

But if the lobby is fighting rear-guard and increasingly futile actions to suppress all discussion here of what Israel is doing to Palestinians, it continues to exercise very serious clout in such enclaves of timidity as the US Congress. Bush was not foolish in singling out Iran for threats in his January 10 address. The Democratic reaction to Bush's escalation against Iraq and Iran has mostly been confined to nervous talk of "symbolic votes." This temperate posture is surely not unconnected to the fact that the lobby's prime foreign policy task, joined by Israeli hawks like Bibi Netanyahu, has been to rally support for an assault on Iran.

What an irony! Desperate for an end to the war, the voters hand Congress to the Democrats. Barely more than two months later Bush is kidnapping Iranian diplomats from their consulate in Erbil, Iraq—a calculated provocation arousing scant tumult here. Bush is also deploying a larger naval force to the Persian Gulf, as Israel plants stories about its possible recourse to nuclear weapons. Some provocation, maybe a seizure by the United States of an Iranian tanker, is easy to imagine in early February. In Congress, there's barely a whimper out of the Democrats amid these terrifying prospects. It may have made a mess of its war against Carter's book, but as a ferryman across the Styx toward Armageddon the lobby is doing a competent job. ■



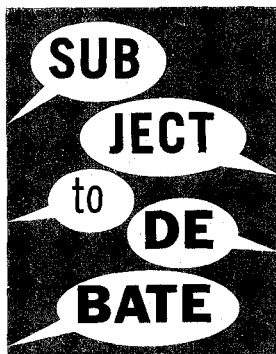
KATHA POLLITT

Ayatollah D'Souza

In his new book, *The Enemy at Home: The Cultural Left and Its Responsibility for 9/11*, far-right provocateur Dinesh D'Souza argues that Al Qaeda really does hate our freedoms—and so does he. Forget geopolitics—Israel/Palestine, US military bases in Saudi Arabia, our support for assorted corrupt regimes, Arab socioeconomic stagnation. No, 9/11 was provoked by feminism, birth control, abortion, pornography, feminism, Hollywood, divorce, the First Amendment, gay marriage, and did I mention feminism? Muslims fear the West is out to foist its depraved, licentious, secular “decadence” on their pious patriarchal societies. And, D'Souza argues, they're right. Working mothers! *Will & Grace*! Child pornography! Our vulgar, hedonistic, gender-egalitarian, virally expanding NGO-promoted values so offend “traditional Muslims” that they have thrown in their lot with Osama and other America-haters. At times D'Souza sounds like he can barely keep from enlisting himself: “American conservatives should join Muslims and others in condemning the global moral degeneracy that is produced by liberal values.”

Well, it's a theory. Specifically, as D'Souza acknowledges, it's a secular version of Jerry Falwell's contention that 9/11 was a divine rebuke to “the pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists, and the gays and the lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle, the ACLU, People for the American Way, all of them who have tried to secularize America.” Of course, Falwell got hammered; even George W. Bush had to distance himself. Besides the obvious objections, God's aim seemed wide of the mark: Did He think the ACLU had an office in the Pentagon and that Windows on the World was a gay bar? The same objection can be raised to D'Souza's cultural explanation for 9/11: Al Qaeda didn't send planes crashing into Universal Studios or the headquarters of Planned Parenthood. It blew up the emblems of US economic and military might. Subsequent attacks took place in countries that sent troops to Iraq, not condoms to Cairo. As Osama himself has noted, he's not attacking Sweden.

But let that pass. *The Enemy at Home* isn't really about Osama. It's about us—the cultural left, aka “the left wing of the Democratic Party” (plus a few Republican friends), “the domestic insurgency” that is “working in tandem with bin Laden to defeat Bush.” (With typical slipperiness, D'Souza claims he's not accusing anyone of treason—just of allying themselves with the evil-doers out to destroy us. Note that the book jacket features a torn and burning flag.) D'Souza boasts that he'll go McCarthy one better and name names in high places—his long list includes Hillary Clinton, Michael Moore, Howard Dean, Mumia Abu-Jamal, Salman Rushdie, the ACLU, Human Rights Watch, Wendy Kaminer, Planned Parenthood, Rosie O'Donnell, Alec Baldwin and a whole bunch of *Nation* writers, including Eric Alterman, Jonathan Schell and me. OK, Eric and me, possibly. And Hillary is a workaholic, so maybe she promotes America-hatred and child pornography in the wee hours, after her day job beefing up the US military. But Rosie O'Donnell working with bin Laden? Salman



Rushdie on the same side as the fanatics who tried so hard to kill him? Does D'Souza have any idea how weird that sounds?

When the left isn't coddling terrorists, it's alienating “traditional Muslims,” a group D'Souza believes the right ought to win over. The way to do this is not by building schools and hospitals that might actually improve their lives; it's by defending their cultural values, which fortunately just happen to be D'Souza's own. (Honor killings and child marriage aren't Islamic, he claims, just things that

regrettably happen in Muslim societies. As for the veil, he approvingly quotes Sudanese radical cleric Hassan Turabi, who claims it lets women be seen as human beings. It's nice to see the cultural-relativist shoe back on the far-right foot.)

Actually, the Bush Administration has been doing just that for some time. It supports the ultraconservative Saudi regime. At the United Nations, it lined up with the Vatican, Iran, Libya and Sudan to oppose comprehensive sex ed. This last item got them nowhere, except with the US Christian right—but that's the point. D'Souza's proposal looks international, but it's really domestic. It's all about revving up the flagging Republican base: *The Vagina Monologues* caused 9/11! Unfortunately for the Republicans, not only are there not quite enough true believers stupid enough to believe that, but most Americans—not just Eve Ensler and Barney Frank—are on the other side of the culture wars. There is no support, none, for restricting divorce, as the Institute for American Values discovered when it tried to get state legislators to make divorce harder to obtain. Polls show increasing comfort with gay rights. Even South Dakota balked at outlawing abortion. As for the vulgar raunch-fest that is popular culture, Americans, and foreigners too, pay zillions for the music, movies, TV shows and magazines D'Souza claims US leftists are cramming down the throats of the world.

If the last election showed us anything, it was that the culture wars are not an automatic win for the right. Moreover, the extraordinary rejection of Bush's war in Iraq, which crosses all sorts of demographic and political lines, shows how little appetite Americans have for intervention in the Muslim world even when they really do share the values supposedly being promoted, like constitutional democracy and ethnic and religious tolerance. The idea that Americans are going to embrace the mullahs and ayatollahs out of a shared dislike of gays and working mothers is fairly fantastic. Besides, the Americans who come closest to sharing “traditional Muslim” family values are fundamentalists like, um, Jerry Falwell, who think Islam is the devil's work. The minute they tried bringing their new best friends to Christ, they'd find out that a mutual obsession with female chastity can take you only so far.

The Enemy at Home is not just slimy and nasty and silly, it's deeply confused. After all, who is urging Americans to combine with foreign powers against their fellow citizens? Not Bill Moyers. Who is saying we must adopt the mores of an alien culture or be destroyed? It's Dinesh D'Souza—surrender monkey. ■

GARY YOUNGE

The Illogic of Empire

On March 6, 1947, not long after Britain had set a timetable for withdrawing both its troops and administration from India, Winston Churchill rose to speak in the House of Commons.

"The government by their fourteen-month time limit have put an end to all prospect of Indian unity," he said, denouncing this cut-and-run philosophy as "Operation Scuttle." "How can one suppose that the thousand-year gulf which yawns between Muslim and Hindu will be bridged in fourteen months?... How can we walk out of India in fourteen months and leave behind us a war between 90 million Muslims and 200 million caste Hindus? ... Let us not add—by shameful flight, by a premature, hurried scuttle—to the pangs of sorrow many of us feel, the taint and smear of shame."

Sound familiar? Sixty years and some flowery rhetoric may separate Churchill's speech from George W. Bush's recent address, but arguments for maintaining colonial rule in India are almost identical to the justifications offered for the continuing presence of US troops in Iraq and escalation of the war.

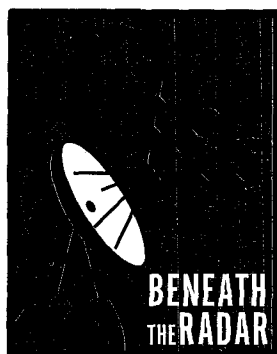
To leave would be irresponsible, would open centuries-old wounds, spark civil war and generally do a great disservice to these people who have had the good fortune to be conquered and pillaged by us. They need and want us, though they have yet to find a way to show it. For deep down they understand that before they can be freed, they must first be subjugated.

Such is the catch-all defense of colonial regimes under pressure to withdraw.

Sometimes these predictions of chaos and bloodshed are borne out—for example, given free rein, strife between Muslims and Hindus in India did lead to at least half a million dead and 12 million homeless in the wake of independence. Often, however, they are not. Less than a month before South Africa's first democratic elections, the *Sunday Times* of London warned of "a Bosnia raging on the southern tip of Africa." South Africa, it was claimed, "is a mishmash of 11 tribes and lacks the typical requirements of a functioning democracy," and stood poised on the verge of "decades of ethnic strife and the unnecessary deaths of thousands." What actually happened was the birth of a flourishing democracy that has shown far more stability over the past thirteen years than, say, Italy or Russia.

In the case of Iraq it would be wrong to insist that things could not get worse in the short term if US troops leave. We simply don't know. The point is that they will clearly not get better so long as the troops remain. Whatever the solution to these deep-seated ethnic, religious and sectarian conflicts might be, it is certainly not occupation. The partition of Pakistan and India was ugly. But colonialism was no less ugly and provided no better solution.

The same is true of Iraq. According to the United Nations, 34,452 Iraqi civilians were killed last year—that's more than ninety-four a day. A further 36,685 were wounded—more than



100 a day. Meanwhile, according to another UN report, every day up to 2,000 Iraqis flee to Syria and another 1,000 to Jordan; since the bombing of the Samarra shrine last year, more than 1,000 Iraqis a day have been internally displaced. Troop withdrawal will not lead to civil war for the simple reason that civil war already exists. Indeed, the invasions and occupations that have historically been prescribed to solve civil wars are usually responsible for exacerbating them, if not creating them, with their arbitrary borders and divide-and-rule strategies.

Consider the history of Iraq. Back in 1918 the British government's Lord Curzon decided Iraq should be ruled by an "Arab façade"—"veiled by constitutional fictions as a protectorate, a sphere of influence, a buffer state, and so on." Back then the intricacies of Sunni, Shiite and Kurdish rivalries were subordinated to the West's geopolitical interests. Now they are elevated to serve the same interests.

Thus in the minds of the powerful, invasions are transformed from acts of humiliation and plunder to those of humanitarianism and principle. The principles are flexible, the humanitarianism selective, but whether they are arguing to invade or against withdrawing, the essential logic underpinning them remains the same: Occupation is a selfless burden crucial not just to our material well-being but the moral uplift of our inferiors. To abandon it would be cruel.

"You cannot have omelettes without breaking eggs," said former colonial secretary Joseph Chamberlain at a Royal Colonial Institute dinner in March 1897. "You cannot destroy the practices of barbarism, of slavery, of superstition, which for centuries have desolated the interior of Africa, without the use of force.... Great is the task, great is the responsibility, but great is the honor."

More than a century later the notion that the colonizers should either break their own eggs or lay off the omelettes still has not sunk in. Which brings us back to Churchill, who has been enjoying something of a transatlantic revival of late.

It was his biography that could be found on the bedside table of then-Mayor of New York Rudolph Giuliani on the night of September 11; his bust that sat on the Oval Office desk following the attacks. It was his resolve that was evoked to justify the "war on terror"—no small irony since he was among the first to advocate the gassing of the Kurds. As president of the air council in 1919, he wrote: "I do not understand the squeamishness about the use of gas.... I am strongly in favor of using poisonous gas against uncivilised tribes." A few years later the Kurds got their first dose of mustard gas. When asked what he thought of Gandhi, Churchill referred to the Indian leader as "a half-naked fakir" who "ought to be laid, bound hand and foot, at the gates of Delhi and then trampled on by an enormous elephant with the new Viceroy seated on its back."

For his part, Gandhi, when asked what he thought about Western civilization, said he thought "it would be a good idea." ■

ARTICLES

ACLU v. ACLU

by Scott Sherman

Last September a group of civil libertarians launched a website, savetheaclu.org, on which they declared: "We come together now, reluctantly but resolutely, not to injure the ACLU but to restore its integrity." Only a "change in leadership," they insisted, "will preserve the ACLU." That website, and those words, marked a new phase in a lengthy campaign to unseat Anthony Romero, the ACLU's executive director. The website contained a surprise: a pithy and combative declaration from Romero's retired predecessor, Ira Glasser, who recruited Romero for the top job six years earlier.

Tension at the upper echelons of the ACLU has been evident for some time. On April 22 of last year, the ACLU national board converged on the Princeton Club in Manhattan for its quarterly meeting. A few weeks earlier, in an interview with the conservative *New York Sun*, board

member Wendy Kaminer had criticized a statement by the ACLU's Washington legislative director. What Kaminer did was hardly unusual: For more than two years she has been an indefatigable critic of the ACLU leadership.

The principal target of her criticism—Anthony Romero—had apparently reached his breaking point. Halfway through the meeting he denounced Kaminer for "attacking his staff" in the *Sun*. While he was speaking, one board member, Alison Steiner, made a facial expression Romero didn't appreciate. Kaminer recalls, "Anthony strides down from the podium, he points at Alison, and essentially orders her out of the room." Romero berated Steiner in the hallway, leaving her shaken. Later in the meeting, South Carolina representative David Kennison belatedly rose to defend Kaminer, after which Romero asked Kennison, too, to step outside. Kennison later claimed that Romero told him that he would "never"

apologize to Kaminer, and that he was accumulating a "thick file on her." "I got frustrated and lost my temper," Romero subsequently told the *New York Times*. "I do not have a file on Wendy."

In late October a second website, voicesfortheaclu.org, was launched by supporters of Romero. That site was spear-

headed by some prominent ACLU veterans, including Aryeh Neier, Gara LaMarche and Norman Dorsen, who declared themselves "dismayed by the ongoing attacks on the ACLU and its leadership" and the "disproportionate and distorted coverage...in some quarters of the press." Since 2004, Stephanie Strom, who covers philanthropy and nonprofits for the *New York Times*, has written a dozen stories about internal controversies at the ACLU, stories that have infuriated Romero and many of his colleagues at the organization.



Anthony Romero and Ira Glasser

It's a bad time for civil liberties, a time of "extraordinary rendition," secret deportations, dubious military trials, NSA surveillance, the harassment of librarians and other infringements. The ACLU, founded in 1920, is both a crucial barrier against these threats to our freedom and the best-known defender of the Constitution. But lately it has also become an organization engulfed by a tumultuous family feud, one in which emotions are raw on all sides. Oddly, it's not a dispute about the ACLU's overall performance in the five years since Romero took over. To varying degrees, both sides agree that the ACLU's day-to-day work has been superb under Romero. On savetheaclu.org, Kaminer and Glasser wrote that the "ACLU continues to do a great deal of excellent, important work." Romero's supporters argue the point with greater emphasis and feeling. "The ACLU has never performed better," says Burt Neuborne, a former ACLU legal director who is now a law

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Larry David is a longstanding *Nation* reader.



professor at New York University. "If you drew up a blueprint for a machine to protect civil liberties, you'd literally copy the existing ACLU."

So what is the row about? The critics proclaim that Romero has made grave mistakes; that those mistakes amount to a firing offense; and that he has betrayed "fundamental ACLU values." Romero's supporters say that he is a visionary leader and that his critics are only damaging the ACLU. Glasser's intervention, and his decision to employ the full range of his polemical, linguistic and strategic abilities in the fight against Romero, has only ratcheted up the tension.

"Ira was an inspirational leader of this organization," says Howard Simon, who runs the ACLU's Florida affiliate. "I still have in my files Ira's old speeches, which I take out to get my juices going again. What makes this such a bad Greek tragedy is that he left the organization with a wonderful reputation and legacy. He has squandered that legacy."

Glasser has a different view: "I join this effort with sadness, but in the firm belief that the core mission of the ACLU is at stake."

Anthony Romero, 41, grew up in a crime-ridden housing project in the Bronx and received scholarships to attend Princeton and Stanford Law School. He eventually became a senior executive at the Ford Foundation, where he signed off on more than \$100 million in grants annually, including a number of large grants to the ACLU. Romero was hired by the ACLU after a competitive search in 2001, and the press release announcing his appointment highlighted the fact that he was Puerto Rican and openly gay. He started a week before 9/11.

When I had lunch with Romero in early November, he was somber. "I've made some mistakes," he told me, "but those mistakes are minor compared with my achievements." We met again a few weeks later at a location of his choosing: the Warwick Hotel in Manhattan, where his father worked for thirty-nine years, first as a janitor and then as a banquet waiter. Romero was in a better mood: He had just returned from Virginia, where the ACLU was representing Khaled el-Masri, who maintains that he was arrested in 2003 and flown to a secret CIA prison in Afghanistan; the ACLU had argued for the reinstatement of his lawsuit against the CIA.

Sipping a glass of red wine, Romero insisted that the current battle will not distract him from his objectives: "I'm focused on what I want to get accomplished. And that focus has nothing to do with the opinions of a couple of hundred critics and their leaders." (More than 600 people have signed a petition against Romero at savetheaclu.org.) Maintaining his focus hasn't been easy; he has had to navigate a perilous minefield in his own backyard. Four times a year Romero appears before the ACLU's eighty-three-member national board, which is famously disputatious. Says Aryeh Neier, the ACLU's executive director from 1970 to 1978, a co-founder of Human Rights Watch and now the president of the Open Society Institute, "I've never seen anything remotely as contentious."

Scott Sherman is a Nation contributing writer.

Romero's difficulties can be traced back to 2002, when he signed a consent decree with the New York Attorney General at the time, Eliot Spitzer, to settle a privacy breach that had been discovered on the ACLU website. A company called Virtual Sprockets was responsible for the breach, but Spitzer's office demanded a \$10,000 fine from the ACLU. The terms of the decree required Romero to distribute it to the national ACLU board within thirty days, but he waited six months to do so. Glasser and Kaminer have written that Romero "offered vague and inconsistent explanations of the circumstances surrounding the negotiation, execution, and eventual distribution of the agreement." They further allege that ACLU president Nadine Strossen and the eleven-member executive committee, the leadership body of the board that oversees the executive director, "declined to reprimand Romero, even though a number of them privately conceded that they believed he had been less than honest with them." At

'I've never seen anything remotely as contentious.'

—Aryeh Neier
former ACLU executive director

the Warwick Hotel Romero told me, "I probably was a bit cavalier about it. But \$10,000 is not a huge sum of money, and it was fully reimbursed [by Virtual Sprockets] to the ACLU. Had it been a million-dollar fine coming from our bottom line, I would have paid a lot more attention to it."

Then, in April 2004, Romero quietly put his signature on a Ford Foundation grant letter that contained a dubious clause: "By countersigning this grant letter, you agree that your organization will not promote or engage in violence, terrorism, bigotry or the destruction of any state." Dissident board members Kaminer and Michael Meyers viewed that language as disgraceful, and believe that Romero and the ACLU should have vigorously opposed it [see Sherman, "Target Ford," June 5, 2006]. Upon questioning Romero, the critics learned that he had done more than sign the grant letter: He had privately advised Ford on how to craft it. After vigorous debate, the ACLU ultimately refused more than \$1 million in Ford money, which Romero wanted for the organization. "The mistake I made," Romero told me, "was in not appreciating the civil liberties implications" of Ford's grant language; he also says that he should not have signed the Ford document without first consulting his board.

In July 2004, after the board concluded a four-hour debate on the Ford controversy, Romero, in the face of explicit questions from Kaminer and Meyers, revealed that he had previously signed another questionable agreement, this one from the Combined Federal Campaign, a government program that allows federal employees to allocate funds to charities and nonprofits. After 9/11, the CFC demanded that its recipients certify that they do not "knowingly employ" people found on federal and international antiterrorism "watch lists"—critics call them "blacklists"—which have been shown to be sweeping and inaccurate. The critics, appalled by the CFC's screening requirements, demanded to know whom Romero had consulted before signing the CFC contract. He replied that he had acted on the "advice of counsel." The critics insist, then and now, that there was no counsel, and that Romero misled the board. The ACLU temporarily withdrew from the CFC, a move that cost the organization an estimated \$500,000 in 2004.

Even Romero's most ardent supporters believe that he seriously botched the CFC matter. Today he admits that he should have immediately brought the grant application to the executive committee of the board (it took him more than five months to do so); and he blames the government for its excessive regulation of CFC recipients. When I asked Romero for the name of his "counsel," a sheepish grin appeared on his face. "I'm also a licensed attorney in New York," he confesses. "I was serving as my own lawyer."

Recalling the controversies of 2004, Romero conveys the impression that his worst blunders were not ethical or administrative, but tactical. He regrets that he was not able to vanquish his enemies on the board. "The biggest mistake I made," he says, "was not appreciating how [the various controversies] could be spun and framed to my detriment." He laments that his detractors were able to successfully "attach certain labels and criticisms that would be hard to explain away."

In the wake of these controversies—which Romero's supporters insist were blown wildly out of proportion by the critics and the *Times*—the ACLU board could have elected to fire Romero. He kept his job, in large part because many of his colleagues viewed him as young, inexperienced and overwhelmed by the complexities of running the ACLU after 9/11. Burt Neuborne believes that Romero needed a powerful mentor inside the organization, one akin to Norman Dorsen, who was the ACLU's president from 1976 to 1991. According to Neuborne, the current feud "wouldn't have happened if Norman were the president." He elaborates: "He would have seen it coming. He would have told Anthony what to do. He would have guided him. Anthony was essentially on his own. When Norman's hand went off the tiller at ACLU, it lurched a bit." (These days the hand of Norman Dorsen, who is also on the NYU law faculty, is again evident at the ACLU, in an advisory capacity.)

Many current board members vociferously insist that Romero's mistakes must be viewed in the larger context of his accomplishments, which are indeed impressive: He doubled the size of the full-time staff in the ACLU's national office, from 186 to nearly 400; he raised staff salaries; he lifted the ACLU's membership from 300,000 to 550,000; he nearly doubled both the total revenue of the ACLU and the net assets of the ACLU Foundation; he brought in new support from foundations; and he launched a TV series.

Supporters also point to a long list of ACLU achievements: its defense of aliens deported from the United States after 9/11; its legal challenge to the NSA spying program; its innovative use of the Freedom of Information Act, which led to the release of more than 100,000 pages of government documents relating to torture and abuse in Iraq, Afghanistan and Guantánamo Bay; and its various challenges to the Patriot Act, especially Section 505, which gives the FBI power to obtain sensitive records without judicial approval.

Top legal experts echo Romero's supporters. "I would give the ACLU a grade of A since 9/11," says University of Chicago

law professor Geoffrey Stone. David Cole of Georgetown University Law Center (and *The Nation's* legal affairs correspondent), who supports Romero, agrees. "They've done a superb job in defending civil liberties, doing public education on civil liberties and challenging a variety of Bush Administration measures," says Cole. "They have also galvanized a large segment of the American population in defense of civil liberties."

The battles of 2004, combined with the aggressive coverage in the *Times*, created deep divisions within the ACLU board. Longtime board member Vivian Berger, emeritus professor of law at Columbia, says that many of her board colleagues felt obligated to rally around Romero: "The critics were so vicious toward him, trying to make a big deal out of every little thing," says Berger. "And here's Anthony, trying to fight off the forces of evil in the country and the world. We had to protect

him, to some extent, just because we were afraid he would go under, which does not mean we never criticized him; which does not mean that many of us did not speak to

I would give the ACLU a grade of A since 9/11.
—Geoffrey Stone
University of Chicago

him privately, myself included. The extreme nastiness of the dissidents had the countereffect of naturally making people circle the wagons."

When Berger talks about the "dissidents," she is primarily referring to Wendy Kaminer and Michael Meyers, who launched the initial onslaught against Romero. Until he left recently, Meyers had served on the ACLU board for twenty-four years. He is a controversial and contentious figure. He grew up poor in the South Bronx and Harlem, where his older brother was killed in a mugging, and has worked as a staff member of the NAACP and as a columnist for the *New York Post*. To his supporters—including the writer Nat Hentoff, who demanded Romero's resignation in the *Village Voice* and *USA Today*—Meyers is a man "of unbending integrity and independence." To his detractors, he is an exasperating presence. Aryeh Neier allows, "He is not someone who could ever last in any institution. He always wanted to call attention to himself. I would never consider hiring him. He would be impossible."

"We've lost the ACLU," Meyers lamented in October 2005, when I first began to follow the dispute. Regarding Romero, Meyers comes right to the point: "There have been serious violations of ACLU policy, protocols, philosophy, and I think the board made a serious mistake in hiring Anthony Romero." Why? "This guy can't think. He can't talk. He can't write. He's not an intellectual leader, and therefore he's an embarrassment." (Meyers says that he preferred another candidate for executive director.) Meyers does credit Romero in one area: "This guy's raised a lot of money. I think we should have hired him as our fundraiser, as our director of development."

When Meyers began to publicly excoriate the ACLU leadership, those leaders moved quickly to confront him. Meyers says he got a call in July 2004 from Nadine Strossen, who told him, "We are asking people not to talk to the media." Meyers replied, "Well, you know, Nadine, you can't remind me of that because you know the policy is specific." (ACLU bylaws guarantee the right of board members to express their personal

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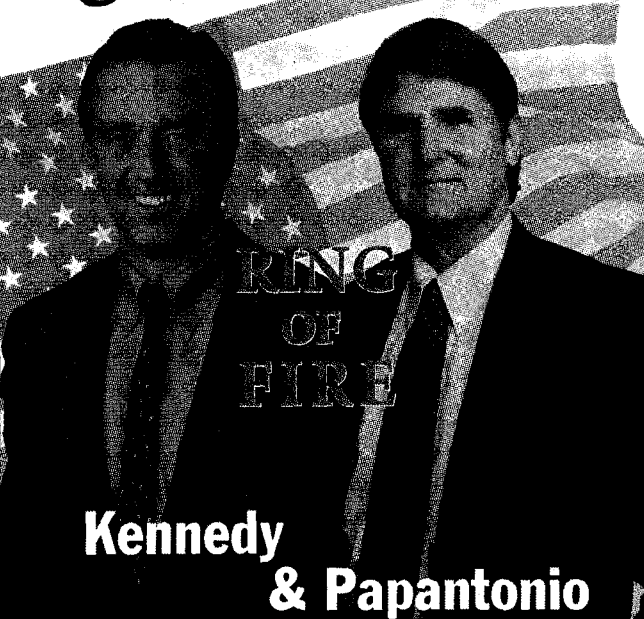
views.) Strossen: "I thought you'd say that." Meyers: "So why are you calling me?" In retrospect, the efforts by Strossen and others at the ACLU to restrain Meyers only served to galvanize and infuriate him, and contributed to the cycle of recrimination that ensued. In 2005 Meyers was voted off the board by colleagues who were furious at him, but he remains an energetic opponent of Romero, and his agile mind and sharp tongue were on display in recent polemics with Romero's supporters in the online Huffington Post.

Kaminer, a freelance journalist in Boston, was Meyers's comrade in the trenches: A fourteen-page chronology she wrote in late 2004 for the board of directors of the ACLU's Massachusetts affiliate, which she then represented, articulates the case against Romero with clarity and precision. Kaminer's crusade against the leadership, and her frequent quotations in Strom's *Times* stories, enraged many of her colleagues on the board. Vivian Berger refers to Kaminer's "intransigent righteousness, humorlessness, sort of Madame Defarge quality." In an August 2004 posting on the ACLU's internal listserv, Berger pointedly inquired, "What exactly do you want us to do now, Wendy? Do you want [us] to ask Anthony to resign?" Replied Kaminer, "I want the ACLU leadership always to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, to acknowledge frankly and fearlessly governance problems and policy misjudgments and address them effectively." Kaminer also demanded a "committee of inquiry" to investigate Romero's transgressions, which the board has never agreed to. Kaminer did not run for re-election in 2006, and no longer serves on the national board. Her rhetoric and behavior alienated quite a few members of the Massachusetts affiliate board, and Kaminer didn't have enough support to keep her seat. Still, she remains a formidable adversary of Romero, and her knowledge of the ACLU wars is encyclopedic.

By late 2005 the strife had, by and large, reached a standstill. And then two events occurred that significantly increased the level of acrimony and recrimination. The first came in the fall of that year, when the ACLU management unveiled new rules regarding employee confidentiality and technology use, rules that had to be signed by staff members at the national office. One clause read, "You agree that you will...not disclose ACLU Confidential Information to anyone outside the ACLU unless you have been explicitly authorized to do so by your Senior Staff Member or your Departmental Head." The new rules drew an anonymous (and outraged) letter from staff members, who complained that the agreement would "redefine 'confidentiality' in an overbroad and vague way, vesting in management the authority to define a wide variety of information as confidential." The letter also expressed the fear that employee e-mail would be monitored by management. "If we worked somewhere else we would be complaining to the ACLU," the letter declared.

Romero says the proposed rules were "a response to the fact that we had a consultant who walked away with an entire donor list and thought it was appropriate to send it to a newspaper reporter"—Strom of the *Times*. (Strom declined to discuss her reporting.) Romero explains that his staff had to understand that "what was on their computers and databases was not theirs but

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the ACLU's. There were certain lines that needed to be drawn." Would the proposed rules have entailed the monitoring of staff e-mails? "The idea that we would monitor our employees' e-mails is farfetched," Romero says. What's clear is that the proposed rules—which were ultimately shelved—provided ammunition to Romero's critics, who saw them as an attempt to crush internal dissent at the national office.

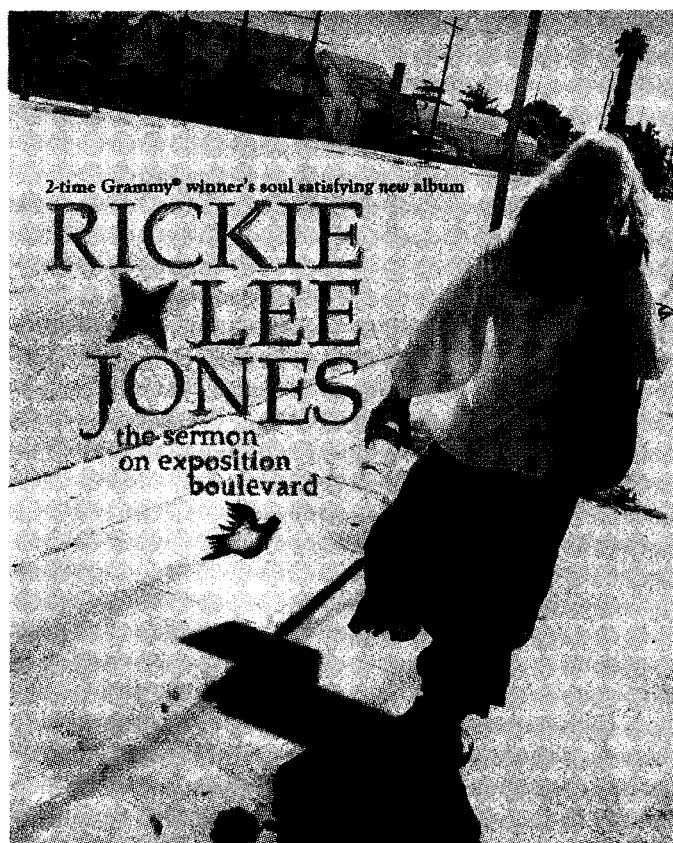
And then, last May, an eleven-member committee of the national board—whose members had been asked by the board to produce a report defining the "rights and responsibilities of Board members," with an emphasis on fiduciary responsibilities and confidentiality—presented their findings to their colleagues. One board member who saw an early draft of the report correctly predicted that it would provoke a "whole lot of screaming." Indeed, it's clear now that any attempt to circumscribe the free-speech rights of ACLU board members was destined to fail. The critics immediately assailed the report, focusing on passages like this one: "a [board member] may publicly disagree with an ACLU policy position, but may not criticize the ACLU Board or staff."

For the critics, that language amounted to both a "gag rule" and a legal framework for the impeachment of dissident board members. After the *Times* got hold of the story, and after an official in the New York State Attorney General's office informally warned the ACLU that the proposed rights and responsibilities language was unacceptable, Romero spoke out against it at the June 2006 board meeting. In the end, the rights and responsibilities report was also shelved. Six months later, Romero still seems bruised by the fisticuffs that erupted: "The board," he says, "was searching for solutions to what was a difficult situation. Previously held norms of board behavior and board decorum were not working any longer. There were [board] colleagues who preferred talking with the press rather than talking with their colleagues."

The critics are convinced that from the start Romero fully approved of the proposed "gag rule." Even some of Romero's most prominent supporters see some truth in that charge. Burt Neuborne says that he privately questioned Romero about it, and was told by him, "It was an effort to explain to people that when you are on a board, there is sometimes a duty not to leak information that can harm the organization's ability to perform its mission." Neuborne says he replied: "If you want to have a board orientation class, have a board orientation class, but don't have rules." He adds: "It was a misstep. It was a road that they never should have gone down." Would Romero have been content with the rights and responsibilities language if the board had approved it? "Anthony would have been perfectly comfortable with it, even if he didn't push it," Neuborne says.

Ira Glasser's emergence as a critic of Romero has inspired some civil libertarians to pay closer attention to the feuding at the ACLU. "I take his perspective very seriously," says historian Stanley Kutler. "He fought the good fight. If Ira Glasser says something publicly, I'm going to listen to it."

When Glasser became executive director in 1978, the ACLU was reeling from the crisis in Skokie, where it defended the right of Nazis to march though a largely Jewish suburb of Chicago. When he took over, the national ACLU had a cumulative deficit



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of nearly \$500,000. When he retired, the organization possessed assets of more than \$100 million. Almost everyone interviewed for this article praised Glasser's performance as executive director. But it wasn't all smooth sailing: In 1993 former *Washington Post* reporter Morton Mintz charged Glasser with soliciting and accepting \$500,000 from Philip Morris between 1987 and 1992. He did so, Mintz alleged, without initially informing the board—an allegation Glasser denied.

In recent months, a significant portion of the goodwill Glasser accumulated during his tenure has evaporated. Writing in the *Huffington Post*, Gara LaMarche, vice president of the Open Society Institute, spoke for many Romero supporters when he declared, "I am sure [Glasser] has persuaded himself he is acting on high principle. I hope he still has a few good friends around to tell him what so many are saying: This is no way to end a distinguished career." Many ACLU board members believe that Glasser misses his old job, and that he is envious of Romero's success. "I think Ira left too soon," says Susan Herman. "He retired quite young. I think had he known that 9/11 was coming, he wouldn't have left." Glasser retorts that "remarks like Susan's...are uninformed, intellectually dishonest and should not be taken seriously except as a reflection of [her] refusal to confront what the critics are saying."

Glasser's emergence has rekindled ancient rivalries within the ACLU. Glasser and Neier, for instance, have both occupied the top jobs at the New York Civil Liberties Union and the national ACLU, and their relationship has been frosty for decades. In a recent interview at the Open Society Institute, Neier was full of scorn for the critics, and full of praise for Romero. Neier wore an elegant blue pinstriped suit, and sat with his leg swung over a chair. From that relaxed pose he hurled poisonous darts at Glasser: "Ira's greatest skill is his skill at manipulation," Neier said calmly. "But he has one flaw as a manipulator, and that is, *a really good manipulator* doesn't leave any traces of his manipulation. And Ira's ego is such that he falls short of being a master manipulator, because ultimately he wants you to know that he has manipulated." "I haven't the slightest interest in responding to this sort of juvenile name-calling," says Glasser. "It indicates only the intellectual vacuity of his position."

Many of Romero's leading defenders—including Ramona Ripston, longtime executive director of the ACLU's Southern California affiliate—regret that the dissidents did not keep their differences within the ACLU family. Indeed, Ripston believes that Glasser could have successfully run for the board in the early days of Romero's tenure and done much good as an internal dissenter. Glasser bristles at the suggestion that the critics have shown disloyalty in taking their fight to the press and to the public. "The critics," he says, "couldn't even maintain themselves on the [national] board, much less get new people on the board." In Glasser's view, the "board is basically a self-perpetuating body and always has been.... Insurgency is close to a political impossibility if the leadership is opposed." Vivian Berger takes a sledgehammer to that argument: "If Ira can't get to the New York electors, then I can't find my way to the subway. What I think the critics are quarreling with is democratic governance. They have not impressed enough people to get elected."

Now that the most vocal critics are off the board, the dissidents seem to be focusing their efforts on the ACLU's fifty-three state affiliates. Says Glasser, "I would like to see every affiliate have a full and fair discussion of the controversy on the merits, with the assumption that they don't know which side is right, because both sides contain bona fide ACLU loyalists." That road won't be easy for the dissidents. Historically, the large affiliates have exercised tremendous clout within the ACLU, and those affiliates—Northern and Southern California, Washington, Massachusetts, Florida—are solidly behind Romero in the current dispute. Only the small, troubled affiliate in South Carolina has signed the petition on savetheaclu.org calling for the removal of the current leadership.

Indeed, it's at the affiliate level that Romero may have decisively outmaneuvered his opponents. One of his primary goals has been to strengthen those affiliates. In 2001 the national office provided them with \$6.5 million; in 2007 it will provide \$31 million. Most of the affiliates seem extremely satisfied with the current arrangement. Voicesfortheaclu.org contains a letter of support for Romero signed by eighteen long-term affiliate directors, who affirmed, "Our organization has never been better organized, better professionally managed and better focused on its principles than at this moment in our 86-year history."

At the strategic level, perhaps the dissidents' greatest failure was their inability to bring the heavyweight Northern and Southern California affiliates into the rebel camp. Historically, those affiliates have been among the most radical, innovative and principled in the ACLU universe. But, then again, the leading dissenters are still endeavoring to persuade some of their own friends that their course of action is the proper one. Says one person close to Glasser, "Ira is absolutely right on the merits of his case, but wrong in the way he is going about it."

Beginning in 2004, the critics performed a useful service by confronting Romero and bringing his transgressions to light. Indeed, Romero should hasten to answer any remaining questions from past controversies. Some of his own supporters, for instance, would welcome a fuller account of the "rights and responsibilities" fiasco. But the dissidents had their day in court. The appropriate venue for opposing the executive director of the ACLU is the national board of the ACLU, to which the critics have previously (and exhaustively) directed their energies. However unacceptable it may be to Glasser & Co., the board has spoken—in favor of Romero. In an ideal world, Glasser would now be serving as the ACLU's roving ambassador-at-large—lecturing, debating, igniting the airwaves with his rhetorical virtuosity. It's probably too late for him to play that role; but it's not too late for him to repair his reputation by curtailing his efforts to undermine his handpicked successor.

Romero says he intends to persevere in the face of ongoing criticism. But his supporters believe it won't be easy. "Ira is the best streetfighter I've ever known," says Ramona Ripston. What happens next, according to Aryeh Neier, is largely up to Romero. "I don't believe that his opponents have the momentum to be able to engineer Anthony's overthrow," says Neier. "It's simply a question of how much he can put up with. And if he decides that he can put up with it, and that he intends to prevail, I think he will prevail." ■

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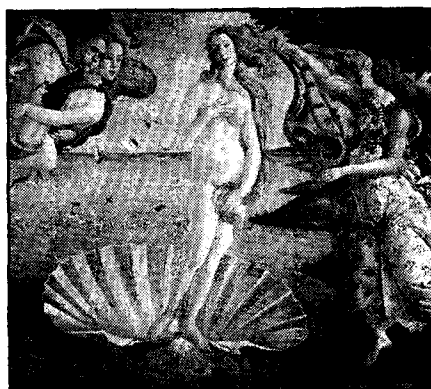
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The Birth of Venus, detail, by Sandro Botticelli, c.1482. Venus, or Aphrodite, is featured in Lecture 11.

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Goodbye, Horatio Alger

JEFF MADRICK

The Democratic pragmatists in Congress are so wedded to their middle-of-the-road attitudes about government social programs, which some of them insist won them victory in November, that they seem incapable of seeing the economic state of the nation for what it has sadly become. To put it simply, the Democratic majority that took control of Congress in January is inheriting a class society. Today in America, one's birth largely determines one's future.

We may quibble about the exact threshold over which a nation must pass to be described as a class society, but the latest research on income mobility is startling. As economists Isabel Sawhill and Sara McLanahan state in the fall volume of the journal they edit, *The Future of Children*, the American ideal of a classless society "is one in which all children have a roughly equal chance of success regardless of the economic status of the family into which they were born." In sum, they write, "the association between one's parents' income and one's own should be small."

But that is not the case in America. Only a couple of decades ago, economists thought that in the land of Horatio Alger only 20 percent of one's future income was determined by one's father's income, a conclusion that University of Chicago economic Nobelist Gary Becker, among others, hailed as proof of the fairness and health of the American economic model. More sophisticated research in the 1990s, however, suggested that the relationship between incomes of fathers and their sons was closer to 40 percent—disheartening if true. Some relationship between intergenerational incomes is to be expected through biological inheritance, cultural privilege and the passing on of social norms, but at 40 percent, the Chicago school argument took a serious blow.

Now, based on new data gathered in the past few years, some economists, led by Bhashkar Mazumder of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, argue that 60 percent of a son's income is determined by the level of income of the father. For women, it is roughly the same. Sixty percent is a shocking number, and some economists want to await further research, but Mazumder's methodology is persuasive. At the least, the estimate of a 40 percent correlation is likely too low.

Still, has mobility declined in recent decades? Mazumder and others think it has. Their research finds that the correlation of income between generations rose markedly in the 1980s and '90s. Again, not all economists agree, but most of those doing



CAITLIN DOVER

research in the area do concede that income mobility today is greater in many European countries than it is in America. My guess is that few in Congress, or in the media for that matter, believe that yet. Reality dawns slowly on unwilling eyes.

The findings would not be as disturbing, of course, if incomes had been growing about equally for all levels of Americans over the past quarter-century. But income inequality has risen since the 1970s to the levels of the Roaring Twenties. For example, the income of the top fifth of American households after inflation has risen by 50 percent since the late 1970s, the next fifth by only about 20 percent and the middle fifth by only 10 percent or so. A gain of 10 or even 20 percent over roughly a quarter-century is close to trivial, and the income of those in the bottom fifth did not increase at all over this period. By contrast, throughout American industrial history, incomes grew 30 to 50 percent or more every quarter-century, and in the quarter-century after World War II, gains reached more than 100 percent for all income categories. Since the late 1970s, only the top 1 percent of households increased their income by 100 percent.

Thus, an American worker in the 1950s and '60s could improve his or her standard of living significantly even without rising in the hierarchy, because incomes increased handsomely for all levels of earners. To do well now, you've got to climb the pyramid, as conservatives until recently could insist Americans did. It is now clear that many, probably most, cannot.

What's going on? First, the nature of the economy changed beginning in the 1970s, and median wages, for a variety of reasons, largely stagnated. For men alone, they declined.

Second, to make it to the middle class—or stay there—a college degree increasingly became a requirement. College was a new and expensive cost for those climbing into the middle class.

And third, as the economy changed and society evolved, government essentially sat it out. The influence of a neoliberal ideology of minimal government was effectively promulgated by Ronald Reagan and economists led by Milton Friedman. Generally slow economic growth since the early 1970s also meant lower federal tax revenues, which the Reagan and Bush tax cuts reduced even further. The Republicans did not succeed in cutting the absolute size of government, largely because entitlement programs like Medicare and Medicaid grew, but both Republicans and Democrats were party to what amounted to a sharp reversal of the progressive history in America, in which government since 1900 had been an active, constructive force to help people adapt to changing and difficult economic circumstances.

No doubt, government programs by the 1970s and '80s

Jeff Madrick, editor of *Challenge* magazine and director of policy research at the Schwartz Center for Economic Policy Analysis at the New School, is writing a history of the American economy since 1970.

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required reform, pruning and some serious rethinking. But the government activism that started with Teddy Roosevelt did not dampen prosperity, and effective and concerned government policy would not have done so in the past quarter-century either. To the contrary, during the progressive first three-quarters of the twentieth century, the nation grew faster than it has since the Reagan revolution. Americans swallowed such laissez-faire illusions before, notably in the late 1800s and the 1920s, and the promises turned out as empty then as they are today.

Today the United States is two nations, but not so much divided between rich and poor, as former Senator John Edwards puts it, as between the well-educated and the rest. A college degree is not a guarantee of a middle-class life, but it has become pretty close to a necessity. And a college degree is expensive, even for those who attend public institutions. The demand for ever more education is not new in our history. But when Americans first needed a good primary education in the mid-1800s, state and local governments provided it, and made sure it was also available in poorer communities. Along with the distribution of land, free primary schooling was among the first income redistribution programs in the nation. In the early 1900s, when Americans needed high schools, state and local governments built thousands across the land, and graduation rates soared. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the federal government also actively supported new land-grant colleges, which became the basis of a state university system. The federal and state governments never went as far as they did with high school, however, and today the nation still treats higher education as if it is a privilege. There is federal and state aid, but increasingly it comes in the form of loans, leaving graduates even of state and community institutions burdened with record levels of debt. And tuition and room and board at private universities has risen considerably faster than has aid, even in the form of loans.

Economists Timothy Smeeding and Robert Haveman report in an essay in *The Future of Children* that the median income of workers with a bachelor's degree or higher is about double the income for those with only a high school diploma, and that more than 40 percent of all new jobs now require a college degree. The Census Bureau figures college graduates will earn about \$2.5 million over their lifetimes in today's dollars, compared with \$1.5 million for high school graduates. Those with advanced degrees will earn a lot more.

The differences are especially stark for men. Male high school graduates have weathered a sharp fall of about 15 percent in their median wages since the 1970s. Median wages of men with college degrees have risen some 14 percent—nothing to crow about, frankly, but nevertheless leaving a wide gap between them and their high school graduate peers.

It would be comforting if economists fully understood why this is happening, because it might help us understand what social policies to adopt. One of the obvious causes is deindustrialization—the loss of manufacturing jobs in particular, which

once paid high school graduates well, provided good benefits and pensions, and often turned out to be jobs for life. But why has deindustrialization occurred? Globalization, including foreign competition from low-wage nations like China, the offshoring of good jobs to nations like India and the rapid flow of capital to good investment opportunities in foreign lands, certainly contributes to the education wage gap. But the loss of middle-class jobs for high school graduates started long before trade and offshoring became so influential.

Most economists, in fact, ascribe the shift in the demand for college graduates to changing technologies, as Information Age businesses require sophisticated workers with better educations. But the case for “skill bias technology” is suspiciously fashionable and oversimplified. A more mundane and convincing variant of the hypothesis is that America has become an office economy of white-collar workers, whose growth industries include finance, marketing, consulting, public relations, healthcare and the media, all of which generally require workers with college educations, and the social skills often acquired there (or required to gain admission). A final argument too often neglected is also credible: Federal policies have

Today the United States is two nations, but not so much divided between rich and poor as between the well-educated and the rest.

restrained growth and kept unemployment too high on average for a generation, resulting in an excess supply of labor that has enabled employers to pick and choose workers with the best qualifications, even when workers with those qualifications are not needed. High rates of unemployment also helped business and its allies in the government win the battle against union power. Meanwhile, those without a college degree are often consigned to low-wage jobs, especially punishing over a generation in which the government refused to raise the minimum wage to keep up with inflation.

Whatever the reasons, some could argue that this transformation to a college-based labor market is in fact pretty terrific. College can indeed be the great equalizer: Be disciplined, study and go to college, and you will be just fine. And Americans did respond. About 26 percent of all Americans over 25 have a bachelor's or more today, compared to 14 percent in 1975. About 40 percent of all those between 25 and 34 have a college degree or higher.

But because of high expenses and inadequate aid, among other causes, the march toward ever higher college graduation rates has stalled in America over the past two decades, and other nations are catching up or even surpassing American levels. Among those aged 25 to 34, Canada, Japan, Finland and Korea boast higher college graduation rates, with another handful of nations just behind the United States and gaining fast.

More important, fewer middle-income and poor kids go to college, get into a good college or finish college than better-off kids. To put it simply, going to college also depends on who your parents are. Had the nation adequately enrolled its lower-income students in solid four-year programs, the nation's college graduation rate would still lead the world by a handsome margin. But to the contrary, college attendance has not enabled lower-income Americans to escape their class in the way prom-

ised. Rather, the process reinforces class disparities.

For example, four out of five high school graduates from the top-income quintile enroll in college after they graduate from high school, compared with only two in five from the bottom quintile. Even when lower-income children have the same test scores, go to similar schools and have the same class rankings, they are significantly less likely to go to college. Poorer students tend to cluster in two-year community colleges, and when they do go to four-year colleges, they finish less frequently than better-off students.

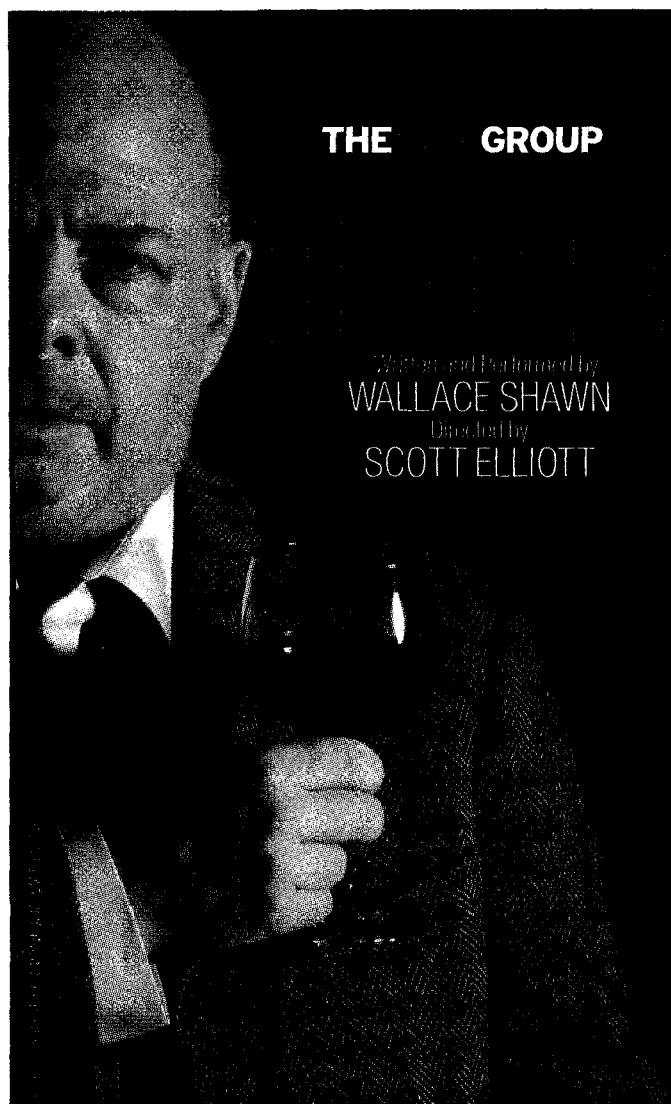
As for going to a good college, family background is even more important. One study ranked colleges into four tiers and broke families into quarters according to their socioeconomic status (family income, occupation and parental education). Only 3 percent of those students in the lowest quarter of families attended a tier-one school, while 74 percent of those from the top quarter of families did. By contrast, 21 percent of those in the bottom quarter attended a community college.

The issue is not merely how much it costs to go to college. Researchers point out that the well-off have more money to spend on developing their children's abilities and interests, and on prepping them for college entrance exams; they expose them to more books and other intellectual stimuli at an early age; they are more aware of how the college admissions process works; and they can afford to send their children to better primary and secondary schools.

Reform, then, is not just a matter of making college more affordable. Evidence that high-quality preschool programs work to improve children's educational capacities is now overwhelming. Thus, policies to make high-quality pre-K education universally available should be a high priority in America. K-12 education generally requires serious improvements, especially in poorer neighborhoods. There can also be many useful reforms of college subsidization without increasing federal funds. Smeeding and Haveman propose a number of such reforms, including funneling state assistance directly to low-income students rather than to the institutions themselves.

In sum, the dirty little secret is that the central role of college in getting a good job is now probably reinforcing a class society, not leveling it. Add to this the disparity in educational quality for pre-K and K-12, and we are getting to the heart of the matter. This is essentially why Bhashkar Mazumder and his colleagues are probably right when they argue statistically that mobility has declined in modern America. As Smeeding and Haveman summarize, "Though college attendance rates are rising, college graduation rates are growing slowly, if at all, and changes in the composition of the college-eligible and college graduating populations appear to perpetuate existing class differences."

I am not saying that improving access to good education is alone the answer to America's class disparities. But it is the central one. In the nation today, a college education provides access to a decent job. And the way the nation has organized itself, adequate health insurance and a decent retirement income also depend on the quality and duration of one's job. Nearly 24 percent of American workers with only a high school diploma, for example, have no health insurance, compared with less than 10 percent of those with college degrees. For high school gradu-



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ates who have just entered the job market, both healthcare and pension coverage have plunged since the 1970s.

Again, let me emphasize that college is not a panacea. Healthcare and pension coverage have also declined for college graduates, though not as dramatically. And incomes are by no means rising rapidly for typical college graduates, especially men. Moreover, even for them, incomes are growing in a highly unequal way, and American economic life has become less secure. But college graduates are the ones who have a reasonable chance to make it through to a full and decent life. And to produce more college graduates, improvements must begin with early childhood and, arguably, even with prenatal care, and move up the ladder, including K-12.

Despite the anti-Republican rhetoric of some of the Democratic leadership, little in the agenda of the new Democratic majority so far will change these prospects. The strategy of the new majority may admittedly be a sensible one: Make a few broadly acceptable policy reforms, such as raising the minimum wage, modestly raising college subsidies and getting some drug costs down. Then, win the presidency in 2008, and at last begin to address the enormous challenges left to the nation by twenty-five years of substantial neglect.

That of course is the optimistic view of well-meaning legislators. And some are talking seriously about bolder programs down

the road. Senator Edward Kennedy, now chair of the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions, has proposed forgiving all college loans after ten years if graduates enter public service professions, for example. John Edwards, now running for President, has made universal healthcare a centerpiece of his campaign. Kennedy has proposed a Medicare-for-all universal healthcare program in his book *America Back on Track* (I worked on the book with him). Several states, now possibly including California, are taking the lead in providing universal healthcare to residents.

But the federal programs needed are decidedly on the legislative back burner. It seems that too many Democrats, arguably the most influential of them, are themselves sincerely skeptical of government and are unwilling to raise the tax money to do the job properly. Even if they see clearly how the state of the nation has decayed, many simply believe it is politically unwise to bring the issues out of the shadows. Meantime, the American promise is being betrayed, and no one knows the level of cynicism this will generate over time in a large portion of the population. We may expect a blithe and even sanguine attitude toward the true state of the economy from the old Republican majority. But too many Democrats neglect the urgency of the nation's challenges. Class war? If it is necessary to make America a just and equal society again, yes. You bet. ■

LETTERS

C O N T I N U E D

(Continued From Page 2)

by Craig Furlong and Gordon Ross, "Seismic Proof: 9/11 Was an Inside Job," which demonstrates that these explosions actually took place as much as fourteen and seventeen seconds prior to the airplanes' impacts.

Heavy-steel-construction buildings like the Twin Towers are not generally capable of "pancake collapse," which normally occurs only with concrete structures of "lift slab" construction and could not occur in redundant welded-steel buildings, such as the towers, unless every supporting column were removed at the same time, as Charles Pegelow has pointed out to me.

The destruction of the South Tower in about ten seconds and of the North Tower in nine is even faster than free fall with only air resistance, which would have taken at least twelve seconds, which, as Judy Wood has emphasized, is an astounding result that would have been impossible without extremely powerful explosives.

The towers are exploding from the top, not collapsing to the ground, where their floors do not move, a phenomenon that Wood has likened to two gigantic trees turning to sawdust from the top down, which, like the pulverization of the concrete, the official account cannot possibly explain.

Pools of molten metal were found at the sub-basement levels three, four and five weeks later, an effect that could not have been produced by the plane-impact/jet-fuel-fire/pancake collapse scenario, which, of course, implies that it was not produced by such a cause.

WTC-7 came down in a classic controlled demolition at 5:20 PM after Larry Silverstein suggested the best thing to do might be to "pull it," displaying all the characteristics of classic controlled demolitions: a complete, abrupt and total collapse into its own footprint, where the floors are all falling at the same time, and so forth, an event so embarrassing to the official account that it is not even mentioned in the 9/11 Commission report.

The hit point at the Pentagon was too small to accommodate a 100-ton airliner with a 125-foot wingspan and a tail that stands forty-four feet above the ground; the debris was wrong for a Boeing 757: no wings, no fuselage, no seats, no bodies, no luggage, no tail! Which means the building was not hit by a Boeing 757.

The Pentagon's own videotape does not show a Boeing 757 hitting the building, as even Bill O'Reilly admitted when it was shown on *The O'Reilly Factor*; at 155 feet, the plane was more than twice as long as the seventy-one-foot Pentagon is high and should have been present and visible; it was not, which means that the building was not hit by a Boeing 757.

The aerodynamics of flight would have made the official trajectory—flying at high speed barely above ground level—physically impossible; and if it had come in at an angle instead, it would have created a massive crater; but there is no crater and the government has no way out, which means that the building was not hit by a Boeing 757.

If Flight 93 had come down as advertised,

there should have been a debris field about the size of a city block, but the debris is distributed over an area of about eight square miles, which would be explainable if the plane had been shot down in the air but not if it had crashed, as required by the government's official scenario.

There is more, especially about the alleged hijackers, including that they were not competent to fly the planes and their names were not on any passenger manifest. Several have turned up alive and well and living in the Middle East. The government has not even produced their tickets as evidence that they actually could have boarded the aircraft they are alleged to have hijacked. Did Osama call from a cave in Afghanistan and charge them to his MasterCard?

President Bush recently acknowledged that Saddam Hussein had nothing to do with 9/11. The Senate Intelligence Committee has reported that Saddam was not in cahoots with Al Qaeda. And the FBI has acknowledged that it has "no hard evidence" to tie Osama to 9/11. If Saddam did not do it and Osama did not do it, then who is responsible for the deaths of 3,000 Americans that day? We believe the nation is entitled to the truth.

JAMES H. FETZER

WE NEVER WERE IN KANSAS, TOTO

■ Re Alexander Cockburn's January 22 "Beat the Devil" column: The 1976 Republican National Convention was indeed held in Kansas City, but it was Kansas City, Missouri, not across the river in Kansas City, Kansas.

BOOKS & THE ARTS

My Beef With Vegetarianism

DANIEL LAZARE

THE BLOODLESS REVOLUTION: A Cultural History of Vegetarianism From 1600 to Modern Times.

By Tristram Stuart.

Norton. 628 pp. \$29.95.

There are many horrifying moments in Anatoly Kuznetsov's great Soviet novel *Babi Yar*, but one of the most horrifying concerns, of all things, the death of a newborn kitten. The kitten has been born deformed, so the hero, a small boy living in Nazi-occupied Ukraine, has to kill it. But instead of doing it the usual way by drowning it in a bucket, he decides it would be somehow kinder to pound the animal to death with a brick. "It was a moist, warm blob of life," Kuznetsov writes, "utterly devoid of sense and as insignificant as a worm. It seemed nothing could be easier than to dispose of it with one blow." But when he lets the brick fall,

A strange thing happened—the little body seemed to be resilient, the brick fell to one side, and the kitten continued its miaowing. With shaking hands I picked up the brick again and proceeded to crush the little ball of living matter until the very entrails came out, and at last it was silent, and I scraped up the remains of the kitten with a shovel and took them off to the rubbish heap, and as I did it my head swam and I felt sick.

Somehow, amid the myriad slaughters of World War II, it takes a frail and worthless kitten—"as insignificant as a worm"—to teach us something about the tenacity of life and the awfulness of taking it away.

I'm not sure where I was when I came across this passage some thirty-odd years

Daniel Lazare, a regular contributor to the Books and the Arts section, is currently at work on a book for Pantheon about the politics of Christianity, Judaism and Islam.

ago, but I'm pretty sure it was in close proximity to settling down to a steak or chicken dinner. If I made any connection between the kitten and the dead animal I was about to consume, it has been erased from my memory. But if I had made such a connection, what exactly would it have been? Certainly, pulverizing a poor defenseless creature is bad. But does that mean that dispatching it quickly and efficiently in a modern abattoir with the good utilitarian purpose of feeding the hungry is good? If "defenseless" is the operative word here, does that mean it is morally permissible to take the life of a fellow creature as long as we give it a sporting chance to fight back or escape—in a bullring, perhaps, or out in the wild? Or maybe sentience is the relevant issue (as utilitarian philosopher Peter Singer, author of the 1975 manifesto *Animal Liberation*, maintains), in which case it may be bad to kill a kitten, but it's OK to kill an

Vegetarianism isn't frivolous. It raises some of life's most vital questions—it just gets the answers wrong.

animal further down the evolutionary scale, such as a frog, a fish or a bug.

On the other hand, if life is the highest value and taking it is never, ever permissible, then what are we to do in the case of a poisonous snake that is about to strike a sleeping infant? Kill one to save the other, or stand back and let nature take its course? If all lives are equally precious, how can we choose between the two?

These are the kinds of conundrums that Tristram Stuart chews on in *The Bloodless Revolution*, his intelligent, readable, if ultimately unsatisfying, account of Western vegetarianism from the Elizabethan Age to the present. Many people no doubt regard vegetarianism as inherently frivolous and hence an unsuitable topic for serious intellectual history. But if *The Bloodless Revolution* does anything, it is to prove such skeptics wrong. One way or another,

it shows that vegetarians have been in the forefront of some of the most important controversies of the modern era. The reason is not hard to fathom. Like everything else in life, food is multidimensional, which is why the question of whether to order fruit salad or a BLT is never solely a matter of taste but touches on everything from morality and aesthetics to agricultural policy, humanity's place in the natural world and even constitutional affairs. In the eighteenth century, to cite just one example, beef was as central to the English self-image as cheap gasoline currently is to that of the United States. Just as the ability to cruise down a highway in an SUV or pickup is what distinguishes an American from a Frenchman paying \$7 a gallon to tool around in some mini-subcompact, the ability to consume great slabs of cow flesh was what distinguished John Bull from "Frogs" dining on onions and snails. Scruffy vegetarians seeking to take all that red meat away were barely distinguishable from Jacobin sympathizers wishing to guillotine the House of Lords.

If we are what we eat, in other words, then modifying the national diet was seen as the quickest route to changing the political structure, while resisting such demands was part and parcel of defending the status quo. Their analysis may have been naïve, but vegetarians' ambitions were immense and their critique was nothing if not sweeping.

Stuart begins his tale with Sir Francis Bacon, appropriately enough since Bacon was both a key figure in the Scientific Revolution that gave us modernity and keenly interested in the question of diet, health and longevity. This was a big issue in the seventeenth century for primarily scriptural reasons. The opening pages of the Bible are filled with people who live eight or nine centuries. But then, following Noah and his ark comes Genesis 9:3, in which God specifically gives permission to eat meat ("Everything that lives and moves will be food for you"). With that, longevity plummets. Since few people questioned the truth of such tales, the issue, as Bacon saw it, was what one had to do with the other—whether not eating meat was the reason Methuselah lived 969 years or whether it was merely coincidental. Bacon never advanced beyond the speculative stage, but Thomas Bushell, one of his acolytes (and, it was widely reported, one

of his lovers), put his master's theory to the test by retiring to the Calf of Man, a one-square-mile islet in the Irish Sea, following a period of riotous debauchery in the gaming houses, theaters and brothels of London. Bushell was hardly the first person to adopt a hermitic lifestyle, but he may have been the first to eschew meat and alcohol with the express purpose of improving his health. Although falling short of Methuselah's record, he lived to the ripe old age of 80 and died a wealthy

Freeing an animal so that it can return to its natural habitat can also mean subjecting it to a life of greater pain rather than less.

man after developing the silver and lead mines of nearby Wales.

A surge of vegetarianism followed during the revolutionary period of the 1640s and '50s, when England was torn by civil war between parliamentary Roundheads and royalist Cavaliers. Rather than scientific exploration, the goal this time was more overtly political. The similarity between the mistreatment of animals and the common folks' ill treatment at the hands of the old ruling class was too obvious to ignore. Eliminating one surely entailed putting a stop to, or at least limiting, the other. Thus, a radical preacher named John Robins declared himself the new Adam and demanded that his followers, known as the Ranters, give up meat and alcohol so as to "reduce the world to its former condition, as it was before the fall of the first Adam," in the words of one of his disciples. A bricklayer-preacher in the town of Hackney told an excited crowd that "it is unlawfull to kill any creature that hath life because it came from God." An ex-soldier named Roger Crab accused his oppressors of "thirsting after flesh and blood" and asserted that "humour that lusteth after flesh and blood is made strong in us by feeding of it." Not feeding of it was the surest way to eliminate such aggressive tendencies.

A growing number of travelogues from India, the world capital of vegetarianism, gave such arguments an inestimable boost. Europeans were astonished by stories of Brahmans who lived on fruits and vegetables and of Jains who regarded life as so valuable that they swept the streets to avoid stepping on insects. A Dutchman named John Huygen van Linschoten reported in the 1590s that Indians "kill nothing in the world that has life, however small and useless it may be." An

Englishman named Ralph Fitch wrote that they even have "hospitals for sheepe, goates, dogs, cats, birds, and for all other living creatures," adding that "when they be old and lame, they keepe them until they die." This was an eye-opener for Europeans who automatically killed their animals when they were past the productive age. Although Westerners assumed that meat and alcohol was what made them more manly, the French traveler François Bernier noted in the 1660s that

Indian armies traveled more quickly on rice and dried lentils than European armies weighed down by their barrels of salted beef and tankards of wine. Indian ways were

not only different but might actually be superior.

Unfortunately for vegetarianism, however, it was also during the Enlightenment that the ideology's shortcomings grew more obvious. The most difficult had to do with ethics. Vegetarianism is most fundamentally about the importance of not taking life other than under the most extreme circumstances. But cruel as it is to kill an ox or a pig, nature is even crueler. A tiger or wolf does not knock its prey senseless with a single blow to the forehead and then painlessly slit its jugular; rather, it tears it to pieces with its teeth. Freeing an animal so that it could return to its natural habitat meant subjecting it to a life of greater pain rather than less. This was disconcerting because it suggested that animals might be better off on a farm even if they were to be slaughtered in the end. There was also the fact that human agriculture created life that would not otherwise exist. If people stopped eating meat, the population of pigs, cattle and sheep would plummet, which meant that the sum total of happiness, human or otherwise, would diminish. This was enough to persuade the Comte de Buffon, a freethinker and naturalist, to declare in 1753 that man "seems to have acquired a right to sacrifice" animals by breeding and feeding them in the first place.

Vegetarians were unsure how to respond. Benjamin Franklin turned anti-meat at one point and for a time regarded "the taking of every Fish as a kind of unprovok'd Murder." But he had a change of heart when he noticed the many small fish inside the stomach of a freshly caught cod: "Then thought I, if you eat one another, I don't see why we mayn't eat you." But Franklin's contemporary, the radical

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English vegetarian Joseph Ritson, wrestled with the same problem only to reach the opposite conclusion. He railed against “sanguinary and ferocious” felines, and when his nephew killed a neighbor’s cat on the grounds that it had just murdered a mouse, he sent the boy a note of congratulations: “Far from desiring to reprove you for what I learn you actually did, you receive my warmest approbation of your humanity.” Vegetarians wanted to knock *Homo sapiens* off their pedestal and bring them down to the level of the other animals. Simultaneously, they wanted to turn human beings into supercops patrolling nature’s furthest recesses in order to rein in predators and impose a more “humane” regime.

Some of the Western world’s most exemplary intellectuals immersed themselves in debates of this sort. Leonardo da Vinci ranted against cruelty to animals, worried that eating eggs deprived future beings of life and reportedly purchased caged birds for the sole purpose of setting them free. Isaac Newton admired vegetarians and believed in the humane treatment of animals, although reports that he was a vegetarian himself proved exaggerated when a bill from a butcher, poulterer and fishmonger turned up among his personal effects after his death. Except for the occasional egg, Descartes limited himself to a fruit-and-vegetable diet in hopes that it would give him long life (he died at age 54). Shelley, who adopted vegetarianism at around age 20, believed not only that eating meat made people violent but that it fed the desire for luxury goods, a prime factor in the growth of human inequality. The hope was that the rich might not lord their wealth so much over the poor if they ate a humble diet.

Somewhat less exemplary—or exemplary in a different way—was Adolf Hitler, who gave up meat for a time in 1911 to treat a stomach ailment and then again in 1924 to shed some weight. Thereafter, he became a dedicated vegetarian, believing, according to Stuart, that a meat-free diet was the only thing that “alleviated his chronic flatulence, constipation, sweating, nervous tension, trembling of muscles, and the stomach cramps that convinced him he was dying of cancer.” (The recent movie *Downfall* shows him consuming a meatless last supper of ravioli in tomato sauce before committing suicide in his Berlin bunker.) Urged on by their Führer, Nazi officials nagged Germans to abandon

sausage and potatoes for “more natural diets based on wholesome roots, fruits and cereals,” according to *The Bloodless Revolution*, and “legally obliged bakers to sell wholemeal bread—the patriotic food of the great German peasant.” German theosophists applauded, as did George Bernard Shaw and meat-eschewing Seventh Day Adventists. The latter group declared in 1933 that Germany had at long last gained a leader “who has his office from the hand of God, and who knows himself to be responsible to Him. As an anti-alcoholic, non-smoker, and vegetarian, he is closer to our own view of health reform than anybody else.” The same regime that sent millions to the death camps, Stuart adds, promulgated rules for the humane slaughter of fish and crustaceans.

What drew Hitler to vegetarianism were most likely its antihumanist and authoritarian elements. “The monkeys, our ancestors of prehistoric times, are strictly vegetarian,” he pointed out on one

Hitler embraced vegetarianism and admired its authoritarian elements—they put the good Nazi in touch with his inner beast.

occasion. “If I offer a child the choice between a pear and piece of meat,” he said on another, “he’ll quickly choose the pear. That’s his atavistic instinct speaking.” Atavism was a virtue, of course, because it put the good Nazi in touch with his inner beast. “Man, alone amongst the living creatures,” Hitler added, “tries to deny the laws of nature”—laws that Nazism was out to reimpose. Since 1945 this nihilist strain has been carried forward by such figures as the Fascist vegetarian Maximiani Portas (*aka* Savitri-Devi), who argued that “you cannot ‘de-nazify’ Nature” and, says Stuart, “elements that ancient forests have been destroyed to build roads, cities and to grow food for ‘more and more people who might as well never have been born.’”

This is fascinating stuff. But it is at this point that *The Bloodless Revolution* loses narrative steam, which is odd considering vegetarianism’s dramatic resurgence in recent years among pierced and tattooed twentysomethings. Instead of Trotskyists, Maoists and Social Democrats going at one another hammer and tongs, progressive circles are now witness to arguments over the merits of soy versus dairy, while “dumpster-divers” demonstrate their contempt for

capitalist waste by subsisting on the discards from restaurants. Stuart says nothing about such developments; instead he winds up with a rather cursory two-page summary in which he criticizes “the old anthropocentric speciesism which attributes moral worth to entities according to how similar they are to ‘us’” and acknowledges that “human self-interest” will always be a factor in determining agricultural policy; but he never explains how we can have one without the other. While not embracing vegetarianism entirely, he is clearly sympathetic and, where meat is concerned, comes out squarely in favor of a policy of less is more. “The equation,” he says, “is simple: if we ate less unsustainably produced meat we would destroy fewer forests, use less water, emit fewer greenhouse gases and conserve the world’s resources for future generations.”

But calling something simple does not make it so. No sane person favors unsustainably produced meat. But, tellingly, Stuart does not consider the possibility of meat that is sustainably produced in accordance with the strictest environmental standards. Should we eat less of that also?

Or more? Perhaps the issue should not be quantity but quality—not whether we should eat more or less but whether we should eat better, which is to say chicken that tastes like something other than cardboard, turkey that tastes like something other than Styrofoam and so on. Maybe the solution is to reject bland industrial products and demand meat with character, the kind that comes from animals that have not spent their lives in industrial feedlots but have had an opportunity to walk around and develop their muscles.

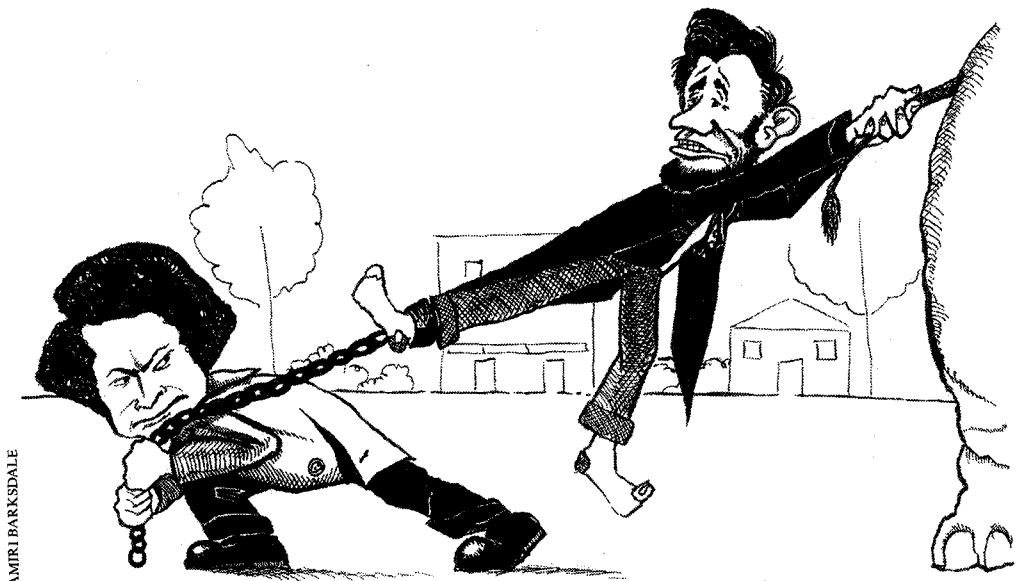
On a more fundamental level, perhaps the problem has to do with the awful word “speciesism.” In arguing for a balance between animal welfare, ecology and human self-interest, Stuart is advocating what some political theorists call the “parcelization” of human sovereignty, its division and subordination amid an array of competing interests. The idea is that instead of reigning supreme over nature, humanity should take its place within nature alongside its fellow animals. Instead of domination, this implies sharing, harmony and other New Age virtues. But the trouble with sovereignty is that it cannot be fragmented or reduced; either it’s supreme and indivisible or it’s not, in which case it’s no longer sovereignty.

Although vegetarians may think that surrendering human supremacy will reduce the harm that people do to the environment, any such effort is invariably counterproductive. Denying humans their supreme power means denying them their supreme responsibility to improve society, to safeguard the environment on which it depends and even—dare we say it—to improve nature as well.

Besides, humans are already sovereign—the trouble is that most of them don't realize it or, for political reasons, refuse to acknowledge it, maintaining instead that real sovereignty lies with God, nature or the free market. But real-life experience tells us otherwise. Since vegetarians began warning in the eighteenth century that the earth would run out of food unless everyone immediately shifted to potatoes and grain, the global population has more than sextupled, global per capita income has increased nearly tenfold even when inflation is taken into account, while consumption of meat, poultry and seafood has risen as well, up 37 percent in the United States since 1909 and even more strongly in less developed portions of the world. More people are living better and eating more richly than anyone in the 1700s would have thought possible. Regardless of whether they are consuming more meat and poultry than is good for them, it is yet another reminder, as if any more were needed, of how thoroughly Malthusian myths about limits to human productivity have been shattered.

Scarcity no longer serves as an argument for vegetarianism, and neither, for that matter, does health, since we know from studies of Okinawan centenarians and others that small amounts of meat and dark-fleshed fish are good for you; that moderate amounts of alcohol (which vegetarians for some reason appear to avoid) is good for you as well; and that plenty of exercise, a sense of well-being that comes from a strong social structure and, of course, universal healthcare are equally essential.

So the next time you tuck into a plate of *tagliatelle Bolognese*, a leg of lamb or a proper *coq au vin* made from some rangy old rooster that's had more lovers than most of us can dream of, you should see it not just as a chance to fill your stomach but, rather, as an occasion to celebrate humanity's ongoing struggle to create abundance out of scarcity. *Venceremos!* It's a lot better than wallowing in the silly defeatism of a diet of tofu and sprouts. ■



The President and the Prophet

ERIC FONER

THE RADICAL AND THE REPUBLICAN: Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and the Triumph of Antislavery Politics. By James Oakes. Norton. 328 pp. \$26.95.

The abolition of slavery in the United States appears in retrospect so inevitable that it is difficult to recall how unlikely it seemed as late as 1860, the year of Abraham Lincoln's election as President. Slaveowners had pretty much controlled the national government since its inception. The 4 million slaves

formed by far the country's largest concentration of property (their economic worth exceeded the value of all the factories, railroads and banks in the country combined). Racism was deeply entrenched, in the North as well as in the South. Blacks, free as well as slave, had few rights anywhere, and abolitionists were a despised minority.

Obviously, Lincoln's election and the civil war it triggered made emancipation possible. But Lincoln campaigned for President pledging to prevent slavery's expansion into Western territories, while insisting he had no intention of interfering with the institution where it already existed. It was by no means certain when the war began that it would become a crusade to destroy slavery.

Who was responsible for the end of slavery? Over the past two decades, historians have avidly debated this question. Did the Union's initial lack of military success, the actions of blacks who, in increasing num-

bers, fled the plantations for Union lines and the pressure exerted by abolitionists and Radical Republicans compel a reluctant President to embrace emancipation? Or did Lincoln sagely wait until public opinion was ready and then act on a lifelong desire to see slavery abolished?

A spate of recent books have sought to restore Lincoln's standing as the Great Emancipator, a reputation somewhat tarnished by studies of his far-from-egalitarian racial views. These books rightly emphasize Lincoln's genuine hatred of slavery. But too often, they insist that the road he took to emancipation was the only possible one. Lincoln is hailed as a "responsible realist," a practitioner of the "politics of prudence." His opposites in this interpretation are the abolitionists, portrayed as self-righteous moralists who lacked a sense of practical politics.

The argument is entirely circular: We know Lincoln's course was the only possible one because the pragmatic Lincoln chose it; anyone who demanded more was, by definition, asking for the impossible. These writers fail to understand that the abolitionists' effort to arouse public sentiment regarding slavery was itself a politi-

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cal strategy. They helped to make the impossible possible. Without the abolitionists, there could have been no Lincoln.

One of the ways James Oakes's *The Radical and the Republican* advances the study of Lincoln and emancipation is by making Frederick Douglass an equal protagonist. The addition of Douglass significantly deepens the analysis and the range of political views represented and allows Oakes to reach beyond the tunnel vision that afflicts so many recent studies of Lincoln.

Oakes does not entirely avoid some of the pitfalls that bedevil Lincoln scholarship. Like many other writers, he reproduces verbatim a number of Lincoln "quotations" of doubtful credibility. Did Lincoln really say in 1850 that the "slavery question can't be compromised," as his former law partner John Stuart later claimed? And did he speak in 1860 of the day "when there will not be a single slave within the borders of this country," as Julian Kune, a Hungarian immigrant, asserted a half-century later? After Lincoln's death, memory, even among his close friends, was filtered through the knowledge of his role in ending slavery.

Oakes cannot fully escape the gravitational pull of Lincoln's image as emancipator, but he refuses to reduce Douglass to a foil for Lincoln's greatness. Both played a role in the end of slavery. Emancipation, Oakes writes, shows "what can happen in American democracy when progressive reformers and savvy politicians make common cause." This formulation enables us to understand emancipation as the product of a broad social and political movement, not of a single individual.

The Radical and the Republican does not claim to chronicle a personal relationship between the two men, because none existed. They met only three times. On the first occasion, in August 1863, Douglass urged Lincoln to order that black soldiers receive the same pay as white. Lincoln responded that the enlistment of blacks had offended many whites and that blacks would have to wait for their pay to be equalized. A year later, at a low point of his presidency when he anticipated defeat in the upcoming election, Lincoln asked Douglass to devise a plan to encourage as many slaves as possible to flee to Union lines, so that his successor could not undo emancipation. Then in March 1865, Douglass spoke briefly with Lincoln to congratulate him on his second inaugural address. This is the extent of their personal encounters.

More significant are the two men's paths of personal and political development, and these Oakes traces expertly. A lively writer, Oakes offers striking portraits of their very different personalities. Douglass, the escaped slave who became a towering figure of the abolitionist movement, "had the blustery, oversize persona of a nineteenth-century Romantic." He held his views with fierce commitment, even when he sometimes impulsively changed them. He spoke from personal experience

Lincoln underwent a political metamorphosis from a mild Illinois Whig to a Republican committed to slavery's 'ultimate extinction.'

of the bloody horrors of slavery.

Lincoln, a grandchild of the Enlightenment, was a man of iron self-control. Unlike Douglass, he never denounced slaveholders as sinners and sadists, and was more apt to condemn slavery for denying black men and women the fruits of their labor than to dwell on whippings and the breakup of slave families. Only in his majestic second inaugural address would he speak of the "blood drawn with the lash." He appealed to his listeners' logic and idealism, not their passions.

Oakes's main theme is how, from very different beginnings, the views of Douglass and Lincoln converged. He is especially good at outlining Douglass's shift from being a follower of William Lloyd Garrison, who insisted that the Constitution was inherently proslavery and therefore abolitionists should stand aloof from the electoral arena, to supporting antislavery politics. By the 1850s, instead of seeing the United States as fatally compromised by slavery and racism (a position that led some of his black contemporaries, like Martin Delany, to support emigration to a country where former slaves could rule themselves), Douglass insisted that blacks were as entitled to the rights of citizens as their white fellow countrymen. But, as Oakes shows, Douglass could not decide how to pursue this goal politically, vacillating between support for fringe groups like the Radical Abolitionist Party and for the Republicans who, despite their limitations, were at least battling the "Slave Power." Douglass's first mention of Lincoln came in 1858, when he praised him for upholding antislavery principles. But in 1860, he announced that while he hoped for a Republican victory, he could not vote for Lincoln because he was not an abolitionist.

On this point, of course, Douglass was

correct—Lincoln was not an advocate of immediate abolition or the rights of black Americans. At one point in the Lincoln-Douglass debates of 1858 (which pitted him against Stephen Douglas, not Frederick), Lincoln said the end of slavery in the United States might not come for another hundred years. But like Frederick Douglass, he underwent a political metamorphosis, from an Illinois Whig concerned mostly with internal improvements and the tariff to a Republican committed to slavery's "ultimate extinction," as he put it. By 1860, Oakes claims, Douglass and Lincoln were frequently "saying the same thing"—that slavery was a moral abomination, that the

Founders were antislavery but the country had tragically betrayed their views and that the United States faced a momentous choice over whether freedom or slavery would shape the nation's future.

If indeed Lincoln and Douglass converged during the 1850s, they moved sharply apart once the Civil War began. Almost immediately, Douglass demanded that Lincoln free the slaves and enroll black men in the Union army. Like other writers, Oakes explains Lincoln's delay on emancipation by saying that he "was willing to wait until public opinion caught up with him." This formulation cannot explain why equally pragmatic politicians in Congress—not only Radicals but many moderate Republicans as well—embraced emancipation much more quickly than Lincoln, enacting laws like abolition in Washington, DC, and the Confiscation Acts of 1861 and 1862, which granted freedom to hundreds of thousands of slaves well before the Emancipation Proclamation.

Douglass, meanwhile, tried in his own way to change public sentiment, speaking throughout the North and publishing *Douglass' Monthly*. In 1862, with Lincoln resisting demands for emancipation, Douglass wrote, "the friends of freedom, the Union, and the Constitution, have been most baselessly betrayed." He was ecstatic when Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, recognizing how it changed the character of the Civil War; but by 1864, upset by Lincoln's failure to remedy the unequal treatment of black soldiers or to support black suffrage in a reconstructed South, he lent his support to the Radical Republican effort to replace Lincoln with John Frémont as the party's presidential candidate. On the other hand, Douglass was impressed by how Lincoln treated him with respect in their personal encounters, never making him feel their difference in station or race.

Lincoln, Oakes writes, was "radicalized by the war," and by the end of his life he had adopted Douglass's positions on emancipation and black troops and was even contemplating the right to vote for some Southern blacks.

On one key point, as Oakes notes, this convergence was far from complete. Douglass saw the struggles against slavery and racism as a single crusade. He insisted that Republicans betrayed their own supposed moral beliefs when they opposed black suffrage, as Lincoln did for most of his life (one reason Douglass refused to support him in 1860). Lincoln saw slavery and racism as two separate and in some ways unrelated questions. He claimed for blacks the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, which he understood to include the right to the fruits of their labor, but that was all. He had little contact with African-Americans and said almost nothing about race relations before the Civil War except when accused by Democrats of favoring "negro equality," which he emphatically denied.

Oakes says that it is impossible to know how much of this Lincoln actually believed and how much reflected political expediency. But he leans toward the explanation that Lincoln practiced "strategic racism," hoping to deflect Democratic charges so that the "real issue"—slavery—could occupy political center stage. Otherwise, he could never have been elected. But is this self-evidently true? Salmon Chase, who devoted much of his career to promoting the rights of free blacks, was elected governor of Ohio in 1855. Lyman Trumbull, who won a reputation as an "attorney for fugitive slaves" in Illinois, was elected and re-elected to the US Senate. Lincoln's actions should not be taken as the sole barometer of the politically "possible."

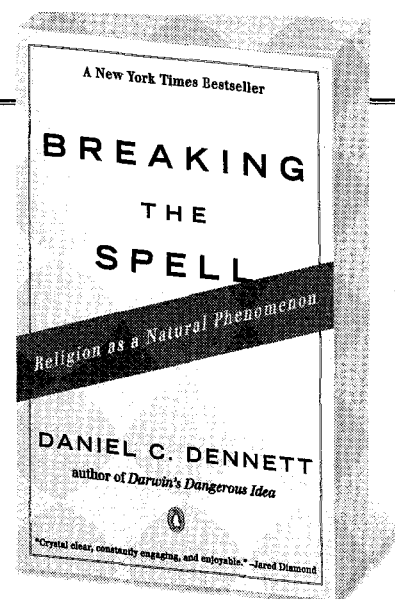
Oakes does not acknowledge that even "strategic racism" compromised Lincoln's antislavery logic. As Richard Hofstadter pointed out sixty years ago in his brilliant essay on Lincoln in *The American Political Tradition*, Lincoln never confronted the question of how blacks were supposed to defend the natural rights to which he believed they were entitled, if they were deprived of the right to vote, testify in court and other rights taken for granted by white Americans. His answer, to the extent that he had one, was that blacks should emigrate to some other country, where they could enjoy all these rights.

Like many other writers on Lincoln, Oakes finds it impossible to take seriously Lincoln's long embrace of colonization—

that is, encouraging blacks to leave the United States. "I cannot make it better known than it already is, that I strongly favor colonization," Lincoln said in a message to Congress less than a month before the Emancipation Proclamation. Oakes calls Lincoln's August 1862 meeting with black leaders (not including Douglass), where he urged them to support colonization, "bizarre," and explains it as an effort to "make emancipation more palatable to white racists." As he notes, Douglass responded with one of his most bitter criticisms of the President. "Mr. Lincoln," he wrote, "assumes the language and arguments of an itinerant colonization lecturer, showing all his inconsistencies, his pride of race and blood, his contempt for Negroes and his canting hypocrisy. How an honest man could creep into such a character as that implied by this address we are not required to show." The real task of a statesman, he concluded, was not to patronize blacks by deciding what was best for them but to allow them to be free. Douglass realized what Lincoln did not—that advocacy of colonization exacerbated racism. But after issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln abandoned the idea of colonization and began to think seriously about the aftermath of slavery in a biracial society.

After his death, Lincoln was succeeded in the White House by Andrew Johnson, a Southern Unionist who was everything Lincoln was not—stubborn, narrow-minded and incorrigibly racist. In 1866 Johnson met with Douglass and a group of black leaders and hectoring them about his opposition to black suffrage. When they left, Johnson remarked to an aide that Douglass was "just like any nigger, and he would sooner cut a white man's throat than not." I used to consider Johnson the worst President in American history. I don't think that anymore. But his incompetence and resistance to equal rights for the former slaves eventually propelled Congress to embark on Radical Reconstruction, the failed attempt to build an interracial democracy on the ruins of slavery.

Douglass fervently embraced Reconstruction and became more and more alarmed in the 1870s as the Republican Party retreated from its commitment to equality. In 1876, with Reconstruction in its final months, he delivered a remarkable speech in Washington at the dedication of an emancipation monument built with funds donated by freed men and women. Douglass seems to have been taken aback when the monument was unveiled—it



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showed a standing Lincoln holding his hand over a kneeling slave, not the image of black self-reliance Douglass favored. In the speech, he called Lincoln "preeminently the white man's President, entirely devoted to the welfare of white men." Fourteen years after the event, Lincoln's colonization meeting of 1862 still rankled—Douglass could not forbear mentioning that Lincoln had "strangely told us that we were to leave the land in which we were born."

But, Douglass went on, Lincoln was also the author of great achievements, especially emancipation and the enrollment of black soldiers, and his name would always be cherished by black Americans.

Douglass chided abolitionists, presumably including himself, for excessive criticism of Lincoln during his presidency. Overall, as Oakes notes, the speech was both an insightful assessment of Lincoln and a remarkable example of self-criticism on Douglass's part. Like so many other Americans of his and succeeding generations, Douglass invoked Lincoln for a political purpose—to demand that the nation remember that slavery had been the central issue of the Civil War and renew its commitment to equal rights for black Americans. In memory, Lincoln and Douglass reached a convergence they never quite achieved in life. ■

Savage Wars of Peace

RUTH SCURR

THE FIRST TOTAL WAR: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It.

By David Bell. Houghton Mifflin. 420 pp. \$27.

"From this place, and from this day forth begins a new era in the history of the world, and you can all say that you were present at its birth," Goethe claimed to have told a group of Prussian soldiers after they were routed by France's revolutionary forces at Valmy on September 20, 1792, and his pronouncement duly features in David Bell's *The First Total War*. But Bell does not swoon, as plenty have, at the poet's clairvoyance. Instead he notes calmly that Goethe wrote his account of Valmy decades later and with some borrowing from the testimonials of others. Nevertheless, there was insight in Goethe's histrionics; in 1792 the *London Times* had reported, "The army marching from Paris exhibits a very motley group. There are almost as many women as men, many without arms, and very little provision." Here was "a people's war," with the new French Republic rising to defend itself any which way it could. Bell's book is an impressively steady, poetically unembellished, evocation of the nativity that awed Goethe.

Bell, the Andrew W. Mellon Professor in the Humanities at Johns Hopkins, sees that birth as monstrous: European total war from 1792 to 1815. From the outset he admits that the concept of total war "seems to get blurrier the closer you come to it." It is a concept more conventionally associated with the First or Second World War than with the French Revolution and its after-

math. Gen. Erich Ludendorff directed the German war effort in World War I and published his grim pamphlet *Der Totale Krieg* in 1935. Eight years later, Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's minister of propaganda, shrieked famously at a crowd in the Berlin Sports Palace: "Do you want total war?" Attempts to define total war, in the abstract, in general or removed from context, are inevitably contentious. Bell settles on a reasonable working definition: "a war involving the complete mobilization of a society's resources to achieve the absolute destruction of an enemy, with all distinction erased between combatants and noncombatants." The extremity of this definition makes the full realization of total war improbable, now or in the past. Acknowledging this, Bell defends the concept in broader political and cultural terms, seeking to explain the emergence of new understandings of war behind the cataclysmic intensification of fighting from Valmy to Napoleon's fall in 1815.

He uses the oxymoronic notion of a "culture of war" to capture an aspect of French Revolutionary and Napoleonic studies relatively underexplored, but tantalizingly resonant with contemporary political predicaments on both sides of the Atlantic. He cites historian John Keegan's

Ruth Scurr teaches history and politics at Cambridge. She is the author of Fatal Purity: Robespierre and the French Revolution.

professional complaint that “not even the beginnings of an attempt have been made by military historians to plot the intellectual landmarks and boundaries of their own field of operations.” Bell addresses this deficit by connecting military and cultural history for the period 1792–1815 through the history of ideas. But he is not writing exclusively, or even primarily, for fellow historians. *The First Total War* is a book for general readers with stomachs strong enough for history’s grittier details. The fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 raised hopes for decades of lasting peace. Similar hopes attended the French Revolution in 1789. As we struggle to come to terms with our own generation’s disappointment, it might prove instructive, if far from comforting, to look back two centuries at shattered hopes not our own. That, at least, is Bell’s suggestion in this engaging, ambitious, intelligent book.

Blending the history of ideas with narrative history is not easy, particularly since thinkers and writers are typically far removed from the stage of history, where decisions on war and peace are made. Immanuel Kant, for example, lived almost all his life, as Bell tells us, “within the chill gray walls, streets, and skies of the Baltic Prussian city of Königsberg, where he taught philosophy uneventfully at the university.” Bell’s solution is largely to segregate thought from action. This is most apparent in an early chapter in which he expounds on Enlightenment theories of war and peace, painstakingly elaborated in the decades of the eighteenth century that led inexorably to revolution. Here the tangles of pacifist thought are patiently but economically and, on occasion, even amusingly, unraveled. François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon, an aristocrat and archbishop, was the author of the bestselling novel *Telemachus*, a sequel to Homer’s *Odyssey* that “urged Christian pacifism on Christian rulers.” First published in 1699, *Telemachus* went through more than a hundred editions in the next century, but “today, it is exasperatingly difficult to see why,” Bell frankly admits. “Many chapters—even *Telemachus*’s despairing search for his father amid the ghosts of Hades—consist of little but large helpings of unadulterated, virtually indigestible virtue, accompanied by verbose sermonizing and much shedding of pious tears.”

Another religious aristocrat and proto-pacifist, the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, published *A Project for Making Peace Perpetual in Europe* in 1713. Bell wryly remarks that Saint-Pierre’s book “has the

dubious honor of counting among the intellectual antecedents of the United Nations.” Then there was the Baron d’Holbach, whose *System of Nature* ranked third on pre-Revolutionary France’s bestseller list (by the historian Robert Darnton’s reckoning), while its companion volume, *The Social System*, “came in at a respectable twenty-nine”; and finally Kant himself in 1784 with his essay “Idea of a Universal Cosmopolitical History.” For all the differences in their complex and intricate ideas, Bell argues, all these theorists were united in rejecting the ancien régime understanding of war as an ordinary part of the social order.

It was this old, carefully delineated and stylized approach to combat that total war was destined to supplant by the end of the century. The officers, gentlemen and poets who once packed off to war between May and October with spare pairs of silk stockings in their baggage trains are a crucial foil in Bell’s story. While these men were philosophically assailed in the name of progress by the likes of Fénelon, Saint-Pierre, d’Holbach and Kant, their approach to war was nonetheless more civilized, or contained, than the monster ushered onto the world stage after 1789. Bell quotes a typical letter from the pre-Revolutionary war in Corsica: “It was the sort of life that suited me best: musket shots all day long, and supper with my mistress in the evening!” War of any kind is grisly, but Bell insists that historians “need to be able to make distinctions between shades of horror.” On his account there is no contest: The bloodshed directed by aristocrats before 1789 pales into insignificance beside the “apocalyptic” bloodbaths that followed.

The thrust of this argument brings Bell up sharply against one of the most intractable questions about the French Revolution: Was it caused by Enlightenment social and political thought? Can its excesses and atrocities be attributed in some subtle yet direct way to the intellectual contributions of Voltaire, Rousseau or the proto-pacifists mentioned above? Bell claims that the arguments for peace that won over Europe’s intellectual elite during the eighteenth century were philosophical abstractions, insulated from the practice of war by a metaphorical glass wall, which the Revolution was to shatter. It put ideas into practice, just as Edmund Burke had seen it would. “The mode of civilized war will not be practiced,” he predicted in 1791, “nor are the French...entitled to expect it.... The hellhounds of war, on all sides, will be uncoupled and unmuzzled.” Burke was right, but as he conceded, there was no moral

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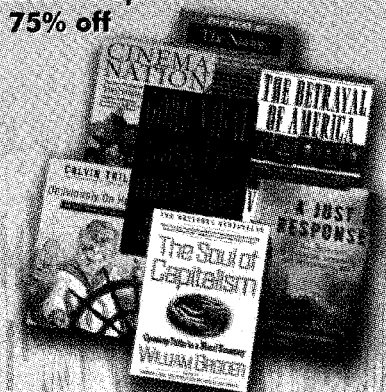
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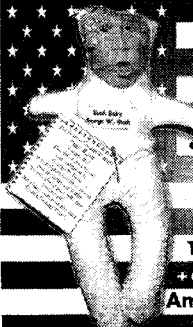
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high ground left to occupy, only squalid despair amid the horrors of unlimited war.

It is far from obvious how the Enlightenment arguments for peace that the revolutionaries inherited can have transmuted in so few years into unprecedented bloodshed in Europe, or total war. Curtly summarized, the trajectory seems utterly bizarre. Bell, like all other historians of the Revolution who take its chronology seriously, has his work cut out simply keeping up with the torrent of events. Following the thread of war, he bypasses the beginning of the Revolution and goes straight into the spring of 1790. The National Assembly, which had given itself the protracted task of designing a new constitutional monarchy for France, was prompted to discuss whether or not the king retained the right to declare war by an international dispute over far-off Nootka Sound, in what is now North Vancouver Island. In this debate, on May 15 of that year, Robespierre urged the Assembly to take a "great step" forward:

you could show the nations of the earth that, following principles very different from those that have cast the peoples of the world into misery, the French nation, content to be free, has no desire to engage in any war, and wishes to live with all nations in the fraternity commanded by nature.

The Assembly did not simply follow Robespierre's advice, but it did officially renounce wars of conquest; and his intervention is crucial in Bell's story because it raises the wider question of war's legitimacy. A year later, Robespierre opposed the impending war with Austria and Prussia. Other revolutionaries (namely Brissot and others broadly known as the Girondins) thought war would consolidate their domestic achievement, end the need for future wars and spread liberation abroad in its wake. "This war will be the last war," the Girondin General Dumouriez declared. Robespierre knew they were wrong:

The most extravagant idea that can arise in a politician's head is to believe that it is enough for a people to invade a foreign county to make it adopt their laws and their constitution. No one loves armed missionaries....

He had good arguments, but he lost. Meanwhile, Dumouriez emerged as "a new and important type of French figure: the political general." The nation and its resources were increasingly mobilized and directed toward the war effort; and political rhetoric turned ever more apocalyptic after

the final fall of the monarchy in August 1792. A month later, at Valmy, Dumouriez had approximately 52,000 soldiers against only 34,000 of the enemy, but half his infantry were new volunteers, untrained and inadequately armed, marching optimistically into battle, singing the "Ça ira." The Revolution and the newborn Republic were at stake. "Valmy, you do not explain it," the French statesman Georges Clémenceau later remarked, "it is an aurora, an aurora of hope...a moral phenomenon." But, Bell claims, "from Valmy to Waterloo, the road runs straight." Even Robespierre, so strikingly pacifist in earlier debates, included this ominous warning in his draft for a new Republican declaration of rights in 1793:

Those who make war on a people to halt the progress of liberty and destroy the rights of man must be attacked by all, not as ordinary enemies, but as assassins and rebel brigands.

In its fight for survival the Revolution would "take no prisoners." This applied equally at home. Bell finds total war fully incarnate in the bloody repression of the counterrevolution in the west of France: the Vendée. This, he insists, was not genocide but a war of extermination. On battlefields abroad, practice did not always correspond to theory; but in the Vendée tragically, horrifically, it did. On August 1, 1793, the Convention (which had been elected to design the new Republican constitution) adopted its scorched-earth policy against the Vendée. "Women, priests, monks, men and children, all were put to death. I took no prisoners. I did my duty, but there is pleasure in avenging one's country," a Republican official reminisced. To distinguish "the face of total war" from guerrilla warfare, Bell emphasizes the "erasure of any line between combatants and noncombatants and the wanton slaughter of both—and at the behest of politics more than military necessity."

The destruction of the Vendée was over by the spring of 1794. Nothing in the following twenty-one years of Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars quite matched it in savagery; still, Bell argues, it represented "a matrix of French experience." He shows the escalating military ambitions of Napoleon intersecting with this matrix and takes the following as signs of total war: apocalyptic rhetoric, extensive mobilization of the nation's resources and the subordination of military necessity to political ends. Napoleon obviously contributed much more to the formula, some of it reminiscent of the old aristocratic approach

to war; he had, after all, been trained as a junior officer of the ancien régime. But Bell looks forward rather than back to an understanding of military glory in terms of Romantic transcendence. In 1797 Napoleon's own newspaper explicitly reversed the National Assembly's 1790 renunciation of conquest, to exalt instead "the double glory of conqueror, and of benefactor of nations."

An important strand of continuity between the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars is the composition of the military, which, Bell argues, "was still what the Revo-

lution had made it: a world distinct from civilian society," a world that glorified war. On this analysis it was "the logic of total war" that both drove Napoleon on and ultimately undermined him. The scale and scope of his battles grew exponentially; Bell concedes that while it is "tempting" to think that with more restraint Napoleon might have secured more lasting success, even the most gifted general since Alexander the Great could not escape the demands of total war. The interesting question is: why?

A full answer lies beyond the scope of this book, which is first and foremost an engrossing narrative, drawing the general reader into the bloody birth of European politics as we know it. Even so, the final chapter, "War's Red Altar," argues that insurgents from Portugal to the Tyrol to Russia retaliated by declaring total war on France: It was this mutual and absolute enmity that precluded restraint and produced the horrors that Goya represented in the brutal paintings and drawings that make up his "Disasters of War" series. Spain, writes Bell, became the "ulcer" in Napoleon's empire, and "saw the development of a guerrilla war every bit as destructive as—and eerily similar to—the insurgency now under way in early twenty-first-century Iraq." He explains that "following the *philosophes* of the Enlightenment, who judged societies by their place on the great ladder of historical progress, and following the Revolutionaries, who had transformed such judgments into political action, Napoleon's men condemned the Spanish as weak and archaic in equal measure." French condescension was misplaced. The Spanish were a different kind of "nation in arms": irregular street fighters determined to expel their invaders, any which way, and at any cost. Corpse after naked corpse was piled high in blood-streaked roads, but insurgency continued.

Perhaps the most important message of Bell's book is also the lone uplifting one: The era of extreme warfare that he describes did not inaugurate permanent total war in Europe. The specter returned in 1914, but for the intervening century it disappeared. Those who reject the characterization of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era as one of "total war" lose with it (if Bell is right) the learning opportunity of the years from 1815 to 1914. Inching back, climbing down, from total war, remembering ways to limit or curtail bellicose exchange and above all dispensing with the idea of an extraordinary war to end all wars: These are urgent lessons for our time. The case Bell makes for beginning in the eighteenth century is robust. ■

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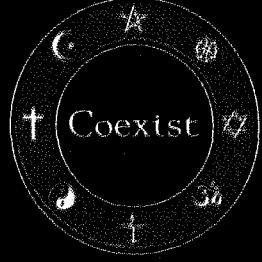
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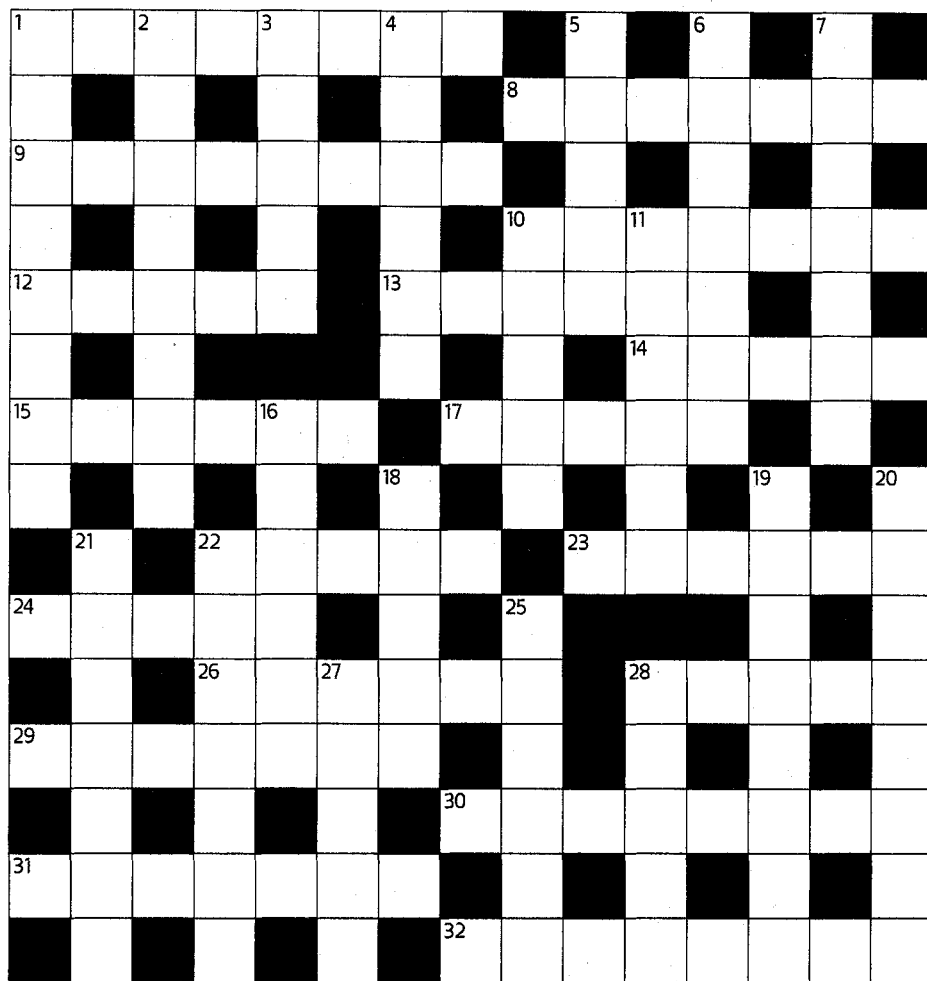
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ACROSS

- 1 and 8 Those who beat their horses, and are still able to take a little shut-eye, are supposedly young and fresh. (15)
 9 Such people are coming on, it is said. (8)
 10 A title of respect—a little firm, both coming and going in the wind. (7)
 12 Men have to get in the back row to become them. (5)
 13 Finish what you have to do to some toys. (Some say you get this when scared.) (4,2)
 14 The one who is sent out for coffee is an underground type, one hears. (5)
 15 Perhaps nice points, relatively speaking. (6)
 17 See 26
 22 What she had to do to conquer something at the front porch, for some. (5)
 23 Notice something that could tighten things up? It goes with political consent. (6)
 24 Took the chair, with your short introduction to the attendant of Bacchus. (5)
 26 and 17 You'll find them at table, when shut-eye is relative to bands, but if it does, does it sound muffled? (6,5)
 28 Take over one for the dance, possibly to use a lance. (3,2)
 29 You have just a short month to work for the inky type. (7)
 30 Certain to shoot whatever is guaranteed. (4-4)
 31 Laid low by 5, where you collect money on board, but turn tail at the beginning of Halloween. (7)
 32 An early type of bridge to the French, showing what the Disney digger does at work. (8)

DOWN

- 1 and 28 They get paid for tearing things to pieces. (8,5)
 2 Meant to be a future bride or groom, as they say. (8)
 3 See 18
 4 Concerning a point taken to possess importance. (6)
 5 A number very enthusiastic for one who combined swing with rock. (5)
 6 In regard to Pa's poor makeup—this is it! (7)



- 7 It's game—but if it's not, it's not! (7)
 10 Brad perhaps has a point to begin with, but if given space, one wouldn't expect it to make rapid progress. (5)
 11 Evidently carpeted in a long-wearing pattern. (6)
 16 With a right beginning, it would come up as a close companion, but it's a catchy way to behave. (6)
 18 and 3 What one shoots when going all out takes steps to provide cubicles for the workers. (4-6)
 19 Something the judge might declare is just a big storm, when one is taken out. (8)
 20 Rather nasty of the Communist uprising, to a point—and behaves in a rather pointless wandering fashion. (8)
 21 Get a lift by auto—a little firm, with no lift for the one who made Boone's hat. (7)
 22 See? Easy! No dictator would have it pertaining to the church assembly! (7)

- 25 This said, you should hold your trap—a bad one has an unpleasant sound. (6)
 27 Poles a boat down the river, and gives the ball to the opposition. (5)
 28 See 1

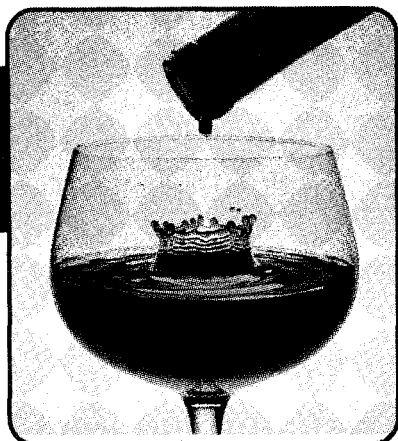
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(from whole red grapes (*Vitis vinifera*) and *Polygonum cuspidatum* (root) extract)



NOVEMBER 2006, BOSTON—

Researchers at the Harvard Medical School and the National Institute on Aging report that a natural substance found in red wine, known as resveratrol, offsets the bad effects of a high-calorie diet in mice and significantly extends their life span (*NY Times*, Nov 2, 2006). Resveratrol is found in the skin of grapes and in red wine and is conjectured to be a partial explanation for the French Paradox, the puzzling fact that people in France enjoy a high-fat diet yet suffer less heart disease than Americans and live longer lives.

Now there is a way to take resveratrol without the alcohol calories and high cost. Vinotrol with 50 mg of Resveratrol derived from grapes and roots provides the equivalent of the Resveratrol in 278 5 oz. glasses of Pinot Noir.

The study by the Harvard Medical School and the National Institute on Aging shows that doses of the red wine ingredient, resveratrol, lowers the rate of diabetes, liver problems and other fat related ill effects in obese mice. "If we're right about this, it would mean you could have the benefit of restricting calories without having to feel hungry," Dr. David Sinclair (of Harvard Medical School) said. "It's the Holy Grail of aging research." (*Fox News*, Nov. 2, 2006).

Longer, More Active Lives. Resveratrol may have a major impact on energy levels too. A major clinical study is showing the beneficial effects of resveratrol on the endurance of mice.

An ordinary laboratory mouse will run one

Major newspapers and networks are reporting startling anti-aging results on resveratrol.

"It's the Holy Grail of aging research,"

said Dr. David Sinclair of Harvard Medical School (*Fox News*, Nov 2, 2006)

kilometer on a treadmill before collapsing from exhaustion. But mice given resveratrol run twice as far. They also have energy-charged muscles and a reduced heart rate, just as trained athletes do. "Resveratrol makes you look like a trained athlete without the training," Dr. Auwerx said (*NY Times*, Nov. 17).

Less Damage from a Stroke. The scientists from Johns Hopkins University fed mice resveratrol before inducing stroke-like damage. They discovered that the animals suffered less brain damage than similarly damaged mice who were not treated with the compound (*Reuters*, Oct. 15, 2006).

Before we all get too excited, keep in mind that these studies are only done on mice.

The remarkable genetic similarity of mice to humans perhaps accounts for mice so often being the experimental model of choice in research. Mice are used to test new procedures and drugs for safety, as required by an array of federal regulations. (University of California Davis website) Additional testing of this naturally occurring ingredient in wine and grape skins is being done to attempt to prove the results in humans, but this food-based nutrient certainly may have great promise as over \$100 million is now being committed to additional research. And since aging is not a disease, this supplement is not intended to treat or cure any disease. But the anti-aging healthful benefits in the mice and other animals tested are startling. And, before you start drinking 278 glasses of Pinot Noir wine a day, which we certainly don't recommend, you can take Vinotrol™ (resveratrol 50 mg) everyday. Start taking Vinotrol™ now and discover how it may change your life. **Call today to learn how you can get a 30-day supply FREE! You pay only the shipping and handling.**

"After six months, resveratrol essentially prevented most of the negative effects of the high calorie diet (in mice)..."

—Dr. Rafael de Cabo, according to www.nih.gov

"We have something (resveratrol) that extends the life of every species it's (been) given to. We're 50 years ahead of where I thought we would be 10 years ago."

—Dr. David Sinclair, Associate professor of pathology at Harvard Medical School, reported from *NY Times*

We are so confident about the test results and the benefits resveratrol may offer, that if for any reason you are not completely satisfied with Vinotrol™, simply return the unused portion within 30 days for a full refund of the purchase price.

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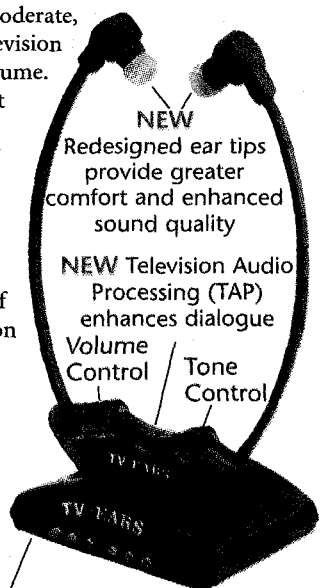
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— Darlene and Jack B., CA

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